



Associated Press

Pictured as they met yesterday in Richmond, Va., to discuss their fight against integrated schools, are (from left) Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi; Gov. Marvin Grif-

fin of Georgia; Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina; and Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia. They agreed to take unified action on interposition.

Interposition Support

Four Governors to Ask Integration Protests

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 24. The Governors of four southern states today said they would ask their State legislatures to adopt resolutions of "interposition or protest" against the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

In a joint statement, issued after a day-long, closed session at the capitol here, the governors declared the states have not delegated to the Federal Government the power to prohibit racial segregation in public schools.

They said they would also recommend that their State legislatures:

- Call on Congress to act to "protect the states" against "present and future encroachment by the central Government."
- Enact legislation to protect state sovereignty and "the rights of its people."

The brief, 200-word statement was read by Gov. George Bell Timmerman, of South Carolina. It was unanimously agreed upon by Governors Marvin Griffin, of Georgia, J. P. Coleman, of Mississippi and Thomas B. Stanley, of Virginia. They represented southern states whose legislatures now are in session

Gov. Luther H. Hodges, of North Carolina attended the session, but said he did not participate in the formulation of the statement, since the North Carolina legislature is not in session and he was attending only as an observer. He said the statement gives "expression to the position of the South" and will be given serious consideration in North Carolina.

The statement left wide open the question of how far each state would go with resolutions of interposition or protest. Interposition is a historic doctrine challenging the authority of the U. S. Supreme Court in making its desegregation decision.

Interposition is a maneuver by the South designed to attack the opposite and its ostensibly

seeks. It proposes a constitutional amendment that would forbid racial segregation in schools.

Interposition proponents in the South expect the amendment would fail to secure the approval of the 36 states needed. The effect of this, in their view, would be to affirm that segregation is constitutional, thereby invalidating the Supreme Court decision for desegregation.

Going into the session, Griffin said he favored a "very strong resolution of interposition," interpreted as meaning

he would support a measure declaring the Supreme Court decision null and void. In this case, the State would declare its intentions to maintain segregated schools until the United States Constitution was amended to specifically prohibit them.

But Mississippi's Coleman, going into the meeting, said he opposed nullification. The Governor's statement used the words "resolution of interposition or protest in appropriate language," thus leaving the question of how strong a protest should be up to the individual states.

Virginia has three resolutions of interposition already introduced in its General Assembly. One would nullify the Supreme Court decision; a second would expressly state it is not a nullification resolution; See GOVERNORS, Pg. 12, Col. 4

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- Mr. Nichols _____
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- Miss Gandy _____

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Clement Disappoints Segregationists

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 24 (AP)—Gov. Frank Clement told a group of segregationists he will not accede to their request for a special session of the Legislature to seek ways to block integration of the races in public schools.

Several hundred segregationists converged on the Capitol Monday.

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4 Governors to Ask Interposition

GOVERNORS—Fr. P. 1

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The statement marked the first time Governor Stanley has taken a stand on interposition or protest.

Although the Governors would comment no further than their joint statement, their stand evidently left the way open for enactment of plans by individual states to deal with the Supreme Court mandate by legislation. Like Virginia's Gray Commission program to avoid enforced integration in the public schools.

Thus, the Governors' policy indicated this course for the South: (1) A long range plan, by way of interposition or protest, in the hope of retaining segregated schools by constitutional amendment, and (2) for the immediate future, enactment of legislation to avoid enforced integration.

Attending the meeting were legal staffs of the various states and, from Virginia, state Sen. Garland Gray of Waverly, Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond Jr., and Gray Commission Counsel David S. Mays.

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GOVERNORS—Fr. P. 1

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Attending the meeting were legal staffs of the various states and, from Virginia, State Sen. Garland Gray of Waverly, Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond Jr., and Gray Commission Counsel David J. Mays.

Stanley said last night, through an aide, that he does not consider the Governors' statement as interfering with the Gray Commission program in Virginia.

He said he wished to confer with State Senator Harry Stuart of Russell County on Stuart's interposition proposal recently introduced, with a view toward possible amendment.

This was taken as an indication that Stanley wants to make certain the Stuart resolution contains no hint of nullification.

Meanwhile, the Associated Press reported that a joint session of the Georgia Legislature cheered speeches by Reps. John J. Flynt Jr. of Griffin and James C. Davis of Stone Mountain. They recommended the doctrine of interposition as a means of nullifying the Supreme Court decision.



Associated Press

Reporters cluster around the conference table in Richmond yesterday as Gov. George B. Timmerman Jr., of South Carolina reads a statement that four Southern Governors have agreed to take unified action on integrated schools. The Governors are (from

left) J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, Marvin Griffin of Georgia, Timmerman, Luther Hodges of North Carolina, who attended as an observer, and Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia. The united action of the Governors will be on the matter of interposition.

4 Governors Back Interposition Move

Action Urged In Conference On Segregation

RICHMOND, Jan. 25 (AP)—Governors of four Southern States have agreed to ask their legislatures to protest by "interposition"—the United States Supreme Court's decision that outlawed segregation in public schools.

The decree of protest that would be incorporated in the various interposition resolutions was left to the individual States, but there were indications three States would stop short of defying the high court.

Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina disclosed the stand of the chief executives in a statement yesterday that followed a six-hour conference on school segregation problems.

While none of the Governors would commit himself, immediately to a specific program, there were indications Gov. Timmerman, Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia and Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi would recommend resolutions that do not contain nullification—or outright defiance.

Griffin for Nullification

Of those present, only Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia was outspokenly in favor of an all-out nullifying interposition resolution. Also attending the conference was Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina, who sat in as an observer but did not join in the declaration of policy because his State's legislature is not in session.

Under the doctrine of interposition, the States interpose their sovereignty in the face of a Federal action they consider beyond the constitutional authority of the Federal Government.

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They would raise a question of the contested powers between the interposing States and the Supreme Court and would ask Congress and the other States to settle the issue—by the ratification of a constitutional amendment saying the Supreme Court has the right to outlaw school segregation.

Either two-thirds of the 48 States or two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress would have to propose such an amendment. It then must be approved by three-fourths of the States.

Timmerman Statement

A step further than interposition is nullification—a theory of extreme interpositionists that, pending the outcome of the proposed amendment, the protested decision should be declared null and void.

Gov. Timmerman's statement said the Governors of the four Southern States with Legislatures now in regular session declare:

"That the States have not delegated to the Federal Government or any agency thereof the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in the public schools and we, therefore, shall recommend to the Legislatures of our respective States that the following action be taken:

"1. That there be adopted a resolution of interposition or protest in appropriate language against the encroachment of the central Government upon the sovereignty of the several States and their people.

"2. That a call be made upon the Congress of the United States to take such action within the limits of its constitutional authority as to protect the States and their people against present and future encroachment by the central Government.

"3. That each State exercise its right to enact and utilize such other appropriate legal measures as it may deem advisable to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people."

W. H. C. Stone

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4 Governors to Seek Pro - Segregation Laws

Special to the Herald Tribune
 RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 24.—Four Southern Governors agreed today to seek action in their own legislatures and in Congress to "interpose" state sovereignty to block the Supreme Court's decree against school segregation.

The decision was announced by Gov. George Bell Timmerman jr., of South Carolina, following six hours of conferences in the offices of Virginia's Gov. Thomas B. Stanley. Other participants were Govs. Marvin Griffin, of Georgia, and J. P. Coleman, of Mississippi. Gov. Luther Hodges, of North Carolina, attended as an "observer" because his Legislature is not in session, but said today's action would be seriously considered at the next North Carolina legislative session.

Today's conference was summarized in the following statement read to reporters by Gov. Timmerman, who acted as chairman:

"This conference, composed of the Governors of the four Southern states whose legislatures are in regular session, does declare:

"That the states have not delegated to the Federal government or any agency thereof the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in the public schools and we, therefore, shall recommend to the legislatures of our respective states that the following action be taken:

"1. That there be adopted a resolution of interposition or protest in appropriate language against the encroachment of the central government upon the sovereignty of the several states and their people.

"2. That a call be made upon the Congress of the United States to take such action within the limits of its Constitutional authority as to protect the states and their people against present and future encroachment by the central government.

"3. That each state exercise its right to enact and utilize such other appropriate legal measures as it may deem advisable to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people."

Gov. Griffin told reporters, "Georgia means business" and indicated that his state would

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 BY W. H. C. Stone
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Segregation

(Continued from page one)

take every possible step to preserve segregation. Gov. Timmerman declined to go beyond his statement in discussing his position. Govs. Stanley and Coleman said they did not construe interposition to mean outright nullification in the classic ante-bellum Southern tradition.

The Georgia governor expressed satisfaction with the statement because it left the way open for each state to take such legislative steps as it deems necessary.

Thus far, the lead on interposition has been taken by Virginia, where a resolution has the General Assembly locked in debate. Proposed language ranges from a flat statement that the Supreme Court's ruling is illegal and invalid to milder expressions of protest against its enforcement.

Tennessee Disagrees

Interposition has been defined as the right of one or more states to interpose state action to prevent within their own borders the exercise of Federal powers

not granted by the Constitution. There have been efforts to achieve united action by the Governors of all thirteen states where segregation is required. Gov. Frank G. Clement, of Tennessee, rejected yesterday a request for a special legislative session to consider such action.

Gov. Griffin said before the meeting that the group was "for the strongest possible resolution of interposition."

A reporter asked if this meant he felt Georgia should hold the Supreme Court's school decree invalid unless supported by a constitutional amendment. Gov. Griffin replied only: "We in Georgia believe the constitution and laws of Georgia will prevail."

Today's meeting was organized by Gov. Stanley after telephone conversations indicated interest in other states. Nine Southern governors met in Richmond to discuss segregation in June, 1954—a month after the Supreme Court's school decree—but decided the matter was too complex for joint action. Later, seven Southern Governors pledged themselves to try to use constitutional means to preserve states' rights in education.



MISSISSIPPI NOTEBOOK

by Tom Ethridge



NEGROES FLOOD CHICAGO
Mississippi continues to lose population, including large numbers of colored persons who are migrating to metropolitan areas lured by the emptying bait of social equality and higher wages.

Many state Negroes are moving to Chicago. Housing officials of the Windy City have recently estimated that between 5,000 and 10,000 Negroes are arriving there every month.

JUST HOW MANY Mississippi Negroes are among that number cannot be accurately determined at present but it is safe to assume they are plentiful. This new influx of colored people is posing a serious economic problem for Chicago.

James C. Downs, City Housing Coordinator, publicly admits that housing for Negroes is terrifically short at present and that more housing projects is a crying civic need.

JOHN SENGSTÄCKE, publisher of the militant Chicago Defender, a leading Negro newspaper, estimates there are now 650,000 colored persons in the city and one million in the greater Chicago area. This is about double its Negro population in 1940.

He predicts that within a few years more than a million Negroes will be living in Chicago—or more in any Southern state. Voted by politicians may welcome forecast but many Chicagoans

are not over-joyed at such a prospect.

THIS ENORMOUS influx of colored people has been due, mostly to their recruitment as non-skilled labors by industry and partly because of depressed farm conditions in the South. Mechanized agriculture has steadily reduced job opportunities in Dixie, according to competent observers.

Chicago has a special committee on community welfare set up to deal with several phases of Negro migration, including employment and housing. Its function appears to be more political than economic. Promises apparently are not keeping pace with performances.

MAYOR DALEY, who has done considerable breast-beating over conditions in Mississippi, has issued a statement again pledging to maintain law and order; and to see that Negro Civil Rights are duly respected. This pompous pronouncement was made to his special municipal subcommittee studying "racial tensions."

Part of committee functions, it would appear, is to force new Negro population into areas where it is not wanted. Sad but true, self-righteous Yankees who insist upon full equality for Negroes in the South are not willing to grant similar rights in the North.

THE COMMITTEE on employment and community practices, despite its high sounding title, seems woefully short on operating funds. Mayor Daley apparently finds it equality than to provide it.

The sum of \$2,500 is mentioned as the committee's budget for achieving miracles in brotherly love. This niggardly appropriation indicates rather strongly that the committee is mainly window-dressing, calculated to impress gullible colored people.

INVESTIGATIONS by the subcommittee on neighborhood education and housing reveal that little housing is available for rental or purchase by newly arrived colored people. Mortgage loans to them are slow and entirely inadequate — a most unbecoming example of discrimination in "The Land of Lin-

coln."
Having fled Dixie to escape the "indignities" of segregation, Negroes arriving in Chicago find themselves herded into segregated areas long since abandoned by whites. To combat open hostility to colored newcomers, officials are urging "public education" — unmindful that Chicagoans already are receiving, by painful day-to-day experience, a liberal education in racial matters.

DESPITE OFFICIAL gratification at this new influx of colored population, there is considerable dissatisfaction among Chicagoans. Typical of widespread complaints is the following editorial comment in the South Deering Bulletin, community newspaper of an all-white neighborhood, and we quote:

"The Negro wants to be classed as an equal. Well, let him be treated as such but why ask for charity, why fight for public housing, why demand something he hasn't earned? Chicago is being taken over by Negroes from the South. . . . After colored people take over a neighborhood here, it soon becomes a slum area."

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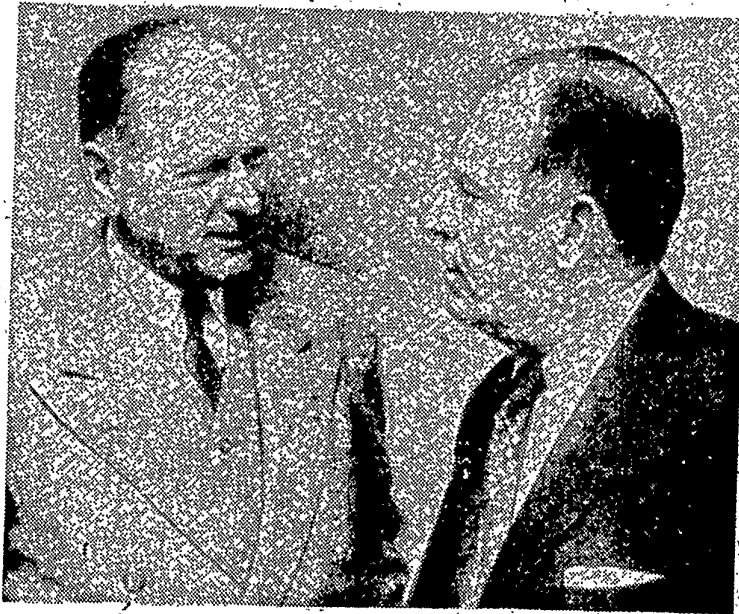
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'We've Done Too Much Talking' Five Governors Join Forces on Integration



—United Press Photo.
Virginia's Gov. Stanley, left, greets Georgia's Gov. Griffin.

RICHMOND, Jan. 24 (AP)— Five Southern governors today urged unity of action by the South in efforts to bypass or possibly defy the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on school segregation.

"Any action without unity won't be worth anything," Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi told newsmen. "We've done too much talking and not enough acting."

The meeting was called by Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia, and includes Govs. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina, and Luther Hodges of North Carolina.

Gov. Stanley summed up the idea of the meeting this way: "If our states can do something similar it would carry more weight and command more attention than if each state takes a different way."

Before the conference, Gov. Griffin of Georgia said he would like to see the governors recommend a "strong interposition" plan to the legislatures.

An "interposition" resolution was recently introduced in the Virginia Senate. It declares Virginia has a

"sovereign" right to maintain segregation and that the Supreme Court's decision integrating schools was illegal.

If says the racial question should be decided by a U. S. constitutional convention, and that until there is such a convention Virginia will do "everything legal" to delay integration.

Yesterday Delegate Robert Whitehead, of Nelson County, introduced a similar resolution in the House of Delegates. It leaves out the blunt statement that the Supreme Court decision was illegal, but calls for a Federal constitutional convention.

Others in the state have thought that the resolution should be stronger than either of these and should state flat defiance by Virginia to the Supreme Court's ruling.

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

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- Mr. Holloman —
- Miss Gandy —

Escape from Mississippi— Family Tells Story of Terror

STOCKTON, Cal., Jan. 22.—The slender Negro said, "They wouldn't cash my veterans' check. They even cancelled out my account at the bank—told me to draw my money out."

That was last August in Yazoo City, Miss., population 9,746.

Today Earnest Little, a totally disabled war veteran, his wife and six children are endeavoring to start life anew in Stockton.

They are refugees—refugees from the new form of a terror that is sweeping the heart of the South.

The Littles were for four weeks the Christmas odds that brought another kind of terror to many residents here, refugees from the economic warfare waged against Negroes in the South by the newly-formed Citizens Councils.

Terror began for the Littles on Aug. 23, 1955, when the Yazoo City Herald sold the entire front page of its second section to the Citizens Council of Yazoo City, which printed in very large, very bold type the names and addresses of 53 Yazoo City Negroes whose signature appeared on a petition urging the local school board to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction on a non-discriminatory basis.

One of the names was that of Mrs. Earnest Little, 213 Lamar Ave.

That was the beginning of a nightmare for the Littles.

"In every store they had that list. First thing they ask you, 'What's your name?'"

Little received a letter from a drugstore where he had run up a

count must be paid up at once and that he could no longer trade there.

Other merchants notified him he no longer has credit. An anonymous telephone call told him to get out of town in eight hours. An ambulance drove up in front of the Little home. The phone rang again. If the Littles didn't leave on their own they'd leave in the ambulance.

The editor of the Yazoo City Herald wrote in his front page column entitled Random Thoughts by the Editor:

"Here's advice to the few remaining Negroes who have not yet asked the school board to remove their names from the petition—do it today!"

He went on to say it "would not be unreasonable for white citizens to place all those who do not ask to have their signatures disregarded in the same category with Dr. A. H. McCoy, leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Mrs. Little, still apprehensive, says she didn't sign the petition. Her name is listed among those formally repudiating the petition. But that didn't stop the terror.

Little suffers from tuberculosis, discovered when he was in the Army.

Mrs. Little had only been home from the hospital for a short time. She had undergone an abdominal operation. She said the doctor had talked to her about what she called "the nerve sickness." Now, she said, she "had something real to worry about."

The Littles decided to leave.

They could not leave without money. The economic struggle

threatened to make that impossible.

Finally, Little was able to get a white furniture dealer to give him \$100 for an electric refrigerator worth much more. Even then, he had to get the furniture dealer to go to the bank with him before the bank would cash the check. The same bank had previously refused to cash his check from the Veterans Administration and had asked him to close his account.

The Littles left town secretly, in a day coach bound for Stockton, where Little has a brother.

"The man (ticket agent in Jackson wanted us to go by the Southern route. I told him I wanted to cross that Mason-Dixie line. I got the darkest seat I could find. I did not get up and walk around until we had crossed that line."

"Each station in Jackson seemed Little says.

But their fear of them.

They were here two and a half months. He told anyone why he left Mississippi problems he left.

He had to report to the Veterans Administration and it was that urged him to join the NAACP. Even tried a letter to had been afraid.

Now the NAACP is trying to raise funds on its feet he should be sent to a branch in Stockton. William H. Boyden, son St., Stockton.

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REP. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS (D-MISS.) TOLD THE HOUSE "NO STATE IN THE HISTORY OF THIS NATION HAS SUFFERED SUCH UNWARRANTED, LIBELOUS AND SLANDEROUS ATTACKS AS HAS THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

"THE LATEST SHOT TO BE FIRED IN THIS LIBEL CAMPAIGN" WILLIAMS SAID, "IS A FILTHY LITTLE DOCUMENT PUT OUT BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE CALLED 'M IS FOR MISSISSIPPI AND MURDER.'" "WILLIAMS SAID THE GOVERNORS OF MISSISSIPPI ALREADY HAS "PUT THE LIE TO THE ASSUCATIONS."

IN 1954, WILLIAMS SAID, SIX NEGROES WERE KILLED BY WHITE PERSONS, EIGHT WHITE PERSONS WERE KILLED BY NEGROES AND 182 NEGROES WERE KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN RACE.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (7-8-55)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Boardman _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Sizoo _____
 Mr. Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

**Move to Aid
 Negro Rights**

DETROIT — We received a leaflet from a UAW local in California, 230, which we think contains one of the most excellent ideas for strengthening Negro - white unity, unity of the workers with the battling Negro people of the South in their fight for freedom.

Here is the leaflet just as we got it:

GIVE!

**TO INSURE BROTHERHOOD
 WHAT?**

Clothing Drive.

WHEN?

Jan. 9, 1956, to Jan. 13, 1956.

BY WHOM?

Officers, members of Local 230, UAW, and their friends.

FOR WHOM?

The oppressed Negro people in the State of Mississippi.

WHERE?

Local 230 Hall at 5150 East Gage Ave. At Chrysler plant gates, Eastern Ave. and Slau-son Ave. entrance.

WHY?

To help alleviate the economic pressure imposed upon these Negroes in Mississippi who have dared to defy the "White Citizens Councils." This "White Citizens Councils" came into being as a result of the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in public

White Citizens Councils of Mississippi

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*Ripley
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 NC 111
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Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker 16 _____
 New Leader _____

Date JAN 22 1956

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Northern Negro Editor Defends and Praises Mississippi

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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By E. N. TIMMONS,
Clarion-Ledger Washington
Bureau

WASHINGTON — A Northern Negro newspaper publisher has come to the defense of Mississippi — and a South Carolina congressman has included his remarks in the Congressional directory.

Rep. Mendel Rivers (D., S. C.) inserted an article written by Davis Lee, publisher of the Newark, N. J., Telegram, in the directory Tuesday.

In doing so, Rivers commented that the article is in answer to that appearing in Look Magazine, "written by William Bradford Huie, who tried to libel and slander the admirals of the United States Navy because he could not get certain consideration, et cetera," in his book, The Case Against the Admirals, during the time he was a naval officer.

The article in question appears in Look Magazine of this month in which this man vilified, slandered, libeled, with immitigated vituperation the good name of the state of Mississippi, the people of Mississippi, and held out to the nation that the state of Mississippi is one of the worst places on earth."

The South Carolinian said further, "I want you to read what a colored man had to say who went down to Missis-

sippi and spent seven weeks there; what he found, and what he published in his newspaper north of the Mason and Dixon line.

"It is a tragedy when the good name of a state is held up for dramatic purposes, to ridicule, and to scorn at the hands of these headline seekers, such as the one that appears in Look Magazine. I want you to read this article written by this man who had

nothing to gain in writing the article."

The inserted article follows:
**MISSISSIPPI SURVEY—
STATE NO. WORSE THAN
ANY OTHER; WHITE'S PAT-
ERNALISM KEY TO NE-
GRO UNDERSTANDING.**

(By Davis Lee, Publisher)
"In recent weeks the entire world has been led to believe that the 1 million Negro citizens of Mississippi are in constant fear for their lives, that

they are ruthlessly exploited, deprived of every right as American citizens.

"The murder of the Reverend George Lee of Belzoni, the Emmett Till kidnap murder and other similar tragedies have given numerous distorted reports the appearance of being true. And those who have never been to Mississippi, from what they read, naturally conclude that it is the worst place on earth.

"After spending 7 weeks in the state, touring its 82 counties, meeting and talking with Negro and white citizens of every walk of life, I am convinced that Mississippi is no worse than any other State in the Union, and what has happened there could happen in any of the 48 states with sufficient provocative agitation, and that the decent citizens deplore violence.

"My trip to Mississippi was not

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page One)

in search of propaganda material designed to stimulate interest in any alleged righteous cause, nor was I sent by any publication with instructions to dramatize the slightest incident. I went in search of the truth. I didn't go in search of the worst that I could find in the State; I endeavored to find the good.

"Naturally, my findings will be criticized, but I don't care. Most people would rather believe a false report than a true one.

"When I arrived in Mississippi, I began my tour at Biloxi and the first man I met was the able head of the chamber of commerce. He extended a cordial welcome and offered to give me any assistance I wanted. I have never met a man more gracious and considerate.

"My next stop was Gulfport and Bay St. Louis resort towns, with large Negro populations. There are many prosperous Negro businesses in these cities, and some of the finest homes are owned by Negroes.

"I visited all of the coastal towns and cities and found no racial tensions. In every community an honest effort is afoot to give the Negroes equal schools.

"When I arrived in Jackson, I went to see Gov. Hugh White, who was glad to see me and talked at some length about the state's efforts toward improving the economic and educational status of the Negro citizens.

"Before leaving Jackson, I con-

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1 photo to APAB, Tomkins 2-9-56, CFW, sm

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
56
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ferred with officials of the State department of education, and learned that the State is spending considerably more money for Negro education than it is spending for white. At Leland, I was told, the State had spent \$1 million for a Negro elementary and high school.

"Because of the wide publicity given the citizens' council I decided to meet with the heads and find out first hand the purpose of the organization, its objectives and the type of people who head it.

"I drove to Winona where I met Mr. Robert B. Patterson, the secretary. I spent some 3 hours with him. He is a native of Mississippi, young, energetic, and believes that our Creator intended that there should be a separation of races.

"Mr. Patterson is an intelligent, fairminded Southerner who doesn't believe that integration offers a solution to our racial problem. And his opinion and convictions are based on a lifetime with Negroes.

"He operates a plantation at Indianola where he has some 80 Negro families. He travels extensively and leaves his wife and daughters in the care of his Negro help.

"In one sentence, Mr. Patterson is referring to the fact that his Negroes cared for his family, gave me the southern view, the South's feeling, in a nutshell.

"When I am away," he said, "I know that my Negroes will not let anything happen to my wife and children. In fact, they are my children, too."

"It is this feeling of parenthood, of paternalism that people outside the South don't understand. Southern white people do regard their Negro employes as their children, their responsibility.

"This fact was evident everywhere that I went. White people in Mississippi love and respect their Negro employes and they resent outsiders who interfere with local customs.

"To further illustrate the workings of paternalism, I visited Drew, a small town not far from Money. I met a plantation owner, who had 150 families on his spread.

"Some of these Negroes had been on that plantation all of their lives. The owner is a Mr. Smith, an educated, cultured man. He loves his Negroes as if they were his own children.

"Recently he missed 35 tons of fertilizer. A private detective was called in. In short order the fertilizer was located in Mound Bayou, the all-Negro town. The fence who bought the stuff agreed to pay for it and no charges were made.

"Shortly thereafter Mr. Smith

missed several bales of cotton. The detective was called in again and given a retainer of \$100 to locate the cotton. The next day the detective called and informed Mr. Smith that the bales of cotton had been found in Mound Bayou. The detective informed the plantation owner that one of his Negro employes had sold the cotton.

"Mr. Smith sent for the alleged thief, a young man in his twenties who had been born and reared on the place. He readily admitted taking the cotton. The sheriff was summoned and the young man arrested and jailed.

"A few days later, at the trial, the young man was fined \$200, with the alternative of a jail sentence if he could not raise the money. Mr. Smith walked forward, paid the fine and took the young man back to the plantation.

Since the Emmett Till tragedy, I have read exaggerated reports by Negro reporters that they had to disguise themselves in dilapidated cars in Mississippi. I traveled the entire state, was well dressed and rode in a late model convertible.

"I was not even stopped and asked to show my driver's license during the entire trip. I went on dozens of plantations and talked with hundreds of Negroes, and not one planter questioned me about my being there."

- Tolson _____
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- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
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Hoover Defends Race Case Work

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19 (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."



Hoover

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

Reply Promised

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi." He said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

Howard is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Association.

The FBI Director's letter cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impar-

tial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

It was decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of the Rev. G. W. Lee, was not cited.

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

3 Killings Cited

The killings that stirred Howard's criticism were those of Lee, the shooting of Lamar Smith and the kidnaping of Emmett Till.

Lee was found dying in his wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Association of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

Lamar Smith also was active in civil rights work. He was shot down in Brookhaven's downtown square last Aug. 13. A grand jury said it could find no witnesses.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on a kidnap charge.

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Beatty

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195 JAN 1956

- Wash. Post and Times Herald *Page 25*
- Wash. News _____
- Wash. Star _____
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
- N. Y. Mirror _____
- N. Y. Daily News _____
- Daily Worker _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____
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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

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65 FEB 1 - 1956

RECEIVED AT 12:17 PM JAN 31 1956

FBI Chief Hits Negro Charges

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19. (AP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover yesterday accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial-Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Mr. Hoover particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Mr. Hoover said.

Dr. Howard is president of the National Medical Association. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the Nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
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- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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434 JAN 31 1956

- Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 - Wash. News _____
 - Wash. Star
 - N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
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 - Daily Worker _____
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63 FEB 1 - 1956

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
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- Miss Gandy _____

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Offers Albany Bill Urging Congress Expel Sen. Eastland

by MICHAEL SINGER

ALBANY, Jan. 17—A resolution to memorialize Congress to expel Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss) and to pass Sen. Herbert H. Lehman's bill creating an Electoral Practices Commission to guarantee the "voting rights of all" was introduced in the Legislature today.

The proposals by Assemblyman Samuel I. Berman, Brooklyn Democrat, were part of an attack on white supremacy violence and the lynch murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi. Berman

represents the 17th A.D. in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Berman called for a full Congressional and Department of Justice investigation into the slaying of Till. Assailing the "crass Mississippi court justice" which permitted the accused killers of Till to go free, Berman linked this action with Eastland's support of the White Citizens Council and other anti-Negro and hate groups in the South.

Eastland, he said, "is palpably unfit to uphold the laws of the land."

Berman further urged the Legislature to ask that Congress support a demand by Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich) "not to seat the Mississippi delegation until it pledged to uphold the 14th Amendment of the Constitution."

Berman charged that white supremacy groups "have been waging a violent assault on the 14th Amendment, victimizing Negro businessmen, farmers and workers with economic boycott and spreading hate and terror in the South." He asked the Legislature to memorialize Congress "to order an investigation into the White Citizens Councils" and to make mandatory on the Department of Justice "a thorough investigation and the furnishing of expert witnesses in cases such as that of Emmett Till."

He pointed out that "Look" magazine, in a recent issue, had revealed clues pointing to the persons guilty of kidnaping and murdering young Till." He called the Till case "a crime which disgraced the state of Mississippi and the U.S. before the eyes of civilized peoples throughout the world and aroused universal protest."

Berman's resolution is the first action in the 1956 Legislature on the Till murder, and the first that observers here could remember by a Democrat which calls for expulsion from high office of another Democrat. The Bedford-Stuyvesant legislator said, when this was pointed out to him, that Eastland "doesn't represent anything democratic, big 'D' or small 'd', and as far as I'm concerned he is a disgrace to my party and everything the Constitution stands for."

The resolution has a lot of support in the legislature, especially from those in New York City.

- Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
- Wash. News _____
- Wash. Star _____
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
- N. Y. Mirror _____
- Daily Worker 3 _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

Date JAN 18 1956

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138 JAN 20 1956

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Mississippi Has Anti-Criticism Bill

JACKSON, Miss., Jan 18 (AP).—Mississippi lawmakers, seeking a new method to defend racial segregation, considered today a bill that would make it a crime to slander Mississippi and its institutions.

Apparently aimed at groups that criticize segregation in Mississippi, the bill was in the hands of the House Judiciary Committee.

The bill was introduced yesterday as Attorney General J. P. Coleman, pledging to keep segregation, took his oath of office as Governor of Mississippi. Gov. Coleman and the Legal Education Advisory Committee drew up the bill.

The LEAC's sole purpose is to find ways to evade the Supreme Court decision that outlaws segregation in public schools.

The bill would make it a crime to libel, slander or defame "any State, county, city, community their inhabitants, their institution, or their government."

Offenders would receive a maximum penalty of \$1,000 fine and one year in the county jail or State penitentiary.

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BAUMGARDNER

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL OF MISSISSIPPI

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- Wash. News _____
- Wash. Star 19
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
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138 JAN 25 1956

Date JAN 18 1956

JAN 18 1956

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 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Anti-Integration Bill Goes to Miss. House

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17 (AP)—A segregation bill drastically enlarging the field of criminal libel was introduced in the Mississippi House of Representatives Tuesday.

The bill would make it a crime to libel, slander, or defame "any state, county, city, community, their inhabitants, their institutions, or their government."

It is intended to be another weapon against integration of the races, apparently by cutting off bitter criticism of Mississippi by groups seeking integration.

A minimum penalty of a \$1000 fine and one year in county jail or state penitentiary is provided in the bill which was referred to the House judiciary committee.

Violators would be prosecuted as in other criminal cases.

Bill Outlined

The bill also would:

1. Include slander—spoken defamatory words—under the criminal libel laws. Under common law, and present Mississippi statutes, slander cannot bring a criminal prosecution against a person.

2. Make it a penitentiary offense to use words by telephone or any other method of communication that "are considered obscene or indecent or as insults and calculated to lead to a breach of the peace."

The bill was proposed by Gov. J. P. Coleman, who was inaugurated Tuesday and the legal education advisory committee, the agency created to find ways of avoiding the United States supreme court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

It would enlarge the general common-law that the persons who can be libeled are: individuals, a group or class of persons who can be identified easily, an unincorporated association and its members, and, perhaps, a corporation.

'Defamatory Words' Defined

The bill would place the same penalties on anyone who speaks, writes or publishes "defamatory words." The act defines them as:

"Any word or statement, oral or written, not libel or slander, but which nevertheless, if true, would tend to expose a person to hatred, contempt, or ridicule, to degrade or disgrace him in society, or to injure him in his business or occupation."

Under a prosecution for any of the offenses, the bill would allow a defendant to show "the truth of the matter spoken, written or published . . . with good motives and for justifiable ends." If he can prove these things, the jury must free him.

The opportunity to prove the truth "with good motives and for justifiable ends" is a relaxation of the common-law rule, which did not allow the truth as a defense if the words tended to cause a breach of the peace.

Right to Show Truth

The right to show the truth with good motives is contained in Mississippi's present criminal libel laws.

The last major section of the bill places a maximum penalty of \$1000 fine and one year in county jail or state penitentiary for:

"Any person who shall be convicted of the use of words by telephone or other oral communication, or by telegraph, newspaper, letter, or other written communication, which words from their usual construction and common acceptance, are considered as obscene or indecent or as insults and calculated to lead to a breach of the peace."

Mr. Tolson
C. F. Winterrowd
 BAUMGARDNER
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71 FEB 2 1956

The Selma Times Journal
Selma, Alabama
January 18, 1956

Edward B. Field, Editor

New Challenge To Supreme Court

Senator Sam Engelhardt, of Macon county, is sponsor of a new and interesting maneuver aimed at making Alabama exempt from the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the public schools.

Senator Engelhardt's maneuver, in the form of a resolution before the Alabama Legislature, holds that in outlawing school segregation, the Supreme Court in effect sought to amend the Federal Constitution.

Citing the fact that the Constitution itself prohibits amendments of such nature, the Engelhardt resolution adds:

"Until such time as the Constitution may be amended in the manner provided by that Constitution, this state is under no obligation to accept a decree of the Supreme Court based upon an authority not found in the Constitution nor any amendment thereto.

"On the contrary," the resolution continues, this state is in honor bound to act to ward off the attempted exercise of a power which does not exist lest other excesses be encouraged."

The resolution stipulates that until the constitution is amended to prohibit segregation, the governor "shall insure that the public schools in Alabama shall be operated in the future as they have been in the past."

The resolution says the Supreme Court in ruling against the South's traditional separate school system undertook "an unlawful and unconstitutional assumption of a power which does not exist; an agency created by a document to which sovereign states were parties thereto the constitution cannot legally amend the creating document when that document clearly specifies . . . the manner of amendment."

The public schools in Alabama "and the very existence of this state are threatened by the attempt of the Supreme Court . . . to usurp a power which it does not have," the resolution adds. "Nowhere in the constitution," it concludes, "is there any provision which says the states cannot enforce segregation as long as separate but equal facilities are provided."

While the average layman will find it difficult to estimate the status which may be achieved by this resolution, it certainly sounds logical and undoubtedly will serve a good purpose as another strong challenge to an assumption of power by the Supreme Court which has no foundation in written law.

The weakness of the position of the integrationists is that the Supreme Court cited no legal precedent or authority in nullifying a past series of "equal facilities" rulings upholding segregation in principle as a matter for the individual states to decide.

Its decision was purely psychological, which has no basis of fact in the Constitution, and it cannot be defended on legal grounds. If confronted with a constant barrage of challenges based upon legal precepts, the high court may be forced into reconsideration of a decision based upon theory rather than law, because it is one which cannot be defended adequately, even on the simple basis of reason.

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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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64 FEB 13 1956

Miss. to Keep Segregation, Coleman Vows

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman told his state and the nation today that Mississippi will keep segregation without violence and despite the federal government.

In all history "there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another," he said in his inaugural address.

"With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done," the 42-year-old governor declared.

He urged the rest of the nation to consider Mississippi's position before passing judgment: "We are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country.

'Not a Race of Killers'

"... The white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers.

"We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the nation.

"It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do."

Negroes form 45 per cent of Mississippi's population.

Successor to White

Coleman succeeded Gov. Hugh White. He has served as district attorney, circuit court judge, supreme court justice and attorney general.

He began life as a farm boy and worked his way through college in the depression days, leaving the University of Mississippi to become secretary to former Rep. A. L. Ford.

He went to night law school in Washington, D. C., and was graduated from George Washington university in 1937.

Special Message

Coleman predicted to a joint session of the Legislature on the capitol steps that when he ends

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Boardman.....
Mr. Belmont.....
Mr. Mason.....
Mr. Mohr.....
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Mr. Holloman.....
Miss Gandy.....

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126 FEB 2 1956

THE NEW ORLEANS STATES
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
1/17/55
Page 1, Col. 5

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RUPANU

Coleman

his term four years from now "the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today."

Without naming nullification specifically, Coleman urged Mississippi legislators to postpone any resolution nullifying—declaring void—federal court decisions outlawing segregation.

He promised to deliver a special message to the Legislature soon on the subject.

Coleman has thrown cold water on proposals that Mississippi nullify federal decisions and laws.

COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

For Quick Action

Council Praises Police

The Jackson Citizens' Council Wednesday commended the "prompt and decisive" action of police here in maintaining segregation signs at rail and bus depots.

"We feel that your firm action has set a pattern and will do much in the days ahead to maintain the correct relations between the races in Jackson that we have enjoyed for such a long time," said W. J. Simmons, secretary, in a letter to Mayor Allen Thompson.

Simmons said the board of directors had voted unanimously to commend the police, who put up their own segregation signs after others were taken down Monday by order of the Interstate Commerce commission.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
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- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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THE STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
1/11/56
page 6A Col. 8

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Association of Negroes, Councils of Ministers of the

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Race Signs Up Despite ICC Ban

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 10 (AP).—Signs dividing the races in railroad and bus stations remained in several cities today as officials insisted segregated facilities will remain despite a contrary ban by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Chief W. D. Rayfield of the Jackson City Police said his men will be stationed at the Illinois Central Railroad depot to enforce the city's stand if necessary. Police replaced segregation signs removed by railroad workers.

The Jackson order against integration, Chief Rayfield said, will apply to all passengers, whether interstate or intrastate.

The ICC ordered an end to segregated waiting rooms for interstate travelers and the order went in effect today. The edict does not apply to passengers who won't cross State lines.

The segregation signs remained in Gulfport and Greenwood. Mayor A. S. Scott of

Laurel said train and bus stations will remain segregated and the city will put up new signs if the transit companies take the present ones down.

The Southern Railway station in Hattiesburg posted a sign reading "Colored Waiting Room for Intrastate Passengers." Apparently, Negro passengers traveling across State lines had the choice of using the Negro or white facility.

Assistant Attorney General Joe Patterson said it already is a misdemeanor to violate the State's segregation laws, punishable by fines of \$100 to \$1,000.

BAUMGARDNER

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- The Worker _____
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INDEXED - 10 JAN 23 1956

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JAN 23 1956

Southern Democrats Assail Ike's Plan To Probe Civil Rights Abuse Charges

By Ernest B. Vaccaro
Associated Press.

President Eisenhower's recommendation that Congress set up a bipartisan commission to investigate alleged violations of Negroes' civil rights ran into opposition yesterday from Southern Democrats.

Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) termed it "very peculiar for the President to suggest that Congress set up a commission to investigate some acts which he apparently believes are against the law."

Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.) called the President's

suggestion "sheer buck-passing." Powell, a Negro, said the Administration already has the power to investigate such violations.

Mississippi's two Democratic Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis—joined in a statement saying Eisenhower's proposal "presents just another aspect of the old force bill idea that has been a perennial in American politics for 50 years."

Asserting Congress has no jurisdiction "over the qualifications of electors and related matters" and no authority to

confer such jurisdiction on a commission, they declared:

"We shall, of course, oppose it."

Other Democratic Senators said privately any attempt to pass a bill carrying out Eisenhower's recommendation would run into a filibuster.

Former Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, who supported Eisenhower in 1952, commented that "the white people of the Southern states ... will have to act in concert and with independence if they to receive any consideration from either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party."

Eisenhower, in recommending the commission, said in his State of the Union Message:

"It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise subjected to unwarranted economic pressure."

"I recommend that the substance of these charges be thoroughly examined by a bipartisan commission created by the Congress."

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- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
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CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

W. Ferguson

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Mr. Holloman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Thurmond Hits Possible FBI Council Probe

The Morning News Washington Bureau
 WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — The possible investigation of the Citizens Councils of the Southern States by the Federal Bureau of Investigation was denounced as federal "meddling" by Sen. Strom Thurmond yesterday.

"The enforcement of state laws rests upon each state. The Justice Department, nor any other federal agency has a right to meddle in that," Senator Thurmond said.

"We don't have a national police force in this country, thank goodness. The FBI is an investigative agency and is charged with the investigation of violations of federal law. Nothing has come to my attention which indicates that the Citizens Councils have in any way violated any federal or state laws. In fact, they are publicly pledged to fight integration by legal means only.

"They have a right to use any legal means at their disposal to fight a Supreme Court decision which they believe is not constitutional."

Senator Thurmond, a member of the national advisory committee of Government, spoke out against recent reports that the FBI may be investigating Citizens Councils of the South in an interview with this paper's Washington correspondent.

He said in the interview that, "from what I can gather in South Carolina", the people of the Palmetto State are mainly interested in three issues which will be before Congress during the second session: 1. Improving the lot of the farmers; 2. Protecting the textile industry from the import of cheap foreign manufactured goods; and, 3. preserving the rights of the sovereign states.

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*Florence Morning News
 Florence, S.C.
 Jan 6, 1956
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Florence Morning News
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BY *[signature]*
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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

BAUMGARDNER

Taking What Doesn't Belong To It

In a new Senator Strom Thurmond's fight.

The Justice Department, which has degenerated into a branch of the NAACP, has undertaken to investigate the Citizens Council, which have been formed in the South.

The idea is to search out some pretext under which it could assume jurisdiction and authority.

Senator Thurmond says the federal government has no jurisdiction over the council. "We don't have any national police in this country," he declared. "I suppose Hoover the chief of the FBI, has always opposed a national police."

The Senator says also that the laws of the citizens' council which has violated any law, local state or federal.

Of course the federal government has no jurisdiction over the council or any similar organizations. That is to say, it has no rightful jurisdiction.

But under the Truman and Eisenhower regimes the government has usurped such authority. Giving examples were in the Justice Department's meddling in the school segregation case. The government was not a party to the suit, was in no way legally involved, but the Department intervened to urge the Supreme Court to rule on school segregation. It even provided legal help to NAACP's attorney. It loaded the dice against the South.

Under the political proceeding that has been dictating its course, the federal government, without Congressional or Constitutional sanction, has assumed jurisdiction in fields never intended for it. It is that against which the South's Senators and Representatives should battle with every resource at their command. Too many of them have been lax. They should now go into action on the front line and stay there!

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Association of Citizens of Mississippi

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

The Case Against 'Interposition'

Flimsiest weapon yet grasped by Dixie's most ardent champions of segregation is the "doctrine of interposition."

It is little more than a specter from the republic's tortured past, a false principle long ago discarded.

Yet a desperate breed of political extremists in Virginia and elsewhere are hailing it today as a respectable legal proposition licensing open defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court and constitutional government.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Interposition lies buried with the Civil War dead. It cannot be resurrected in 1956.

* * *

According to historians, the belief in interposition — or "nullification" — is based on the theory that the union of states is a voluntary one. Each member retains its sovereignty, although, for purposes of convenience, certain powers of government are delegated to an agent, the federal government. But if, in the opinion of the state, the federal government usurps a right belonging to the state, the latter, being sovereign, must judge for itself. It may nullify the unauthorized act.

The earliest assertions of the doctrine came in 1798-99 in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions protesting the Alien and Sedition Acts of Congress. These were written, respectively, by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison but were never pursued to a final test. The Sedition Act expired under its own terms in 1801.

There are records of a form of interposition being practiced in Pennsylvania in 1804 by a governor who ordered out state troops to resist a federal court decree. Later, Georgia and Alabama forcibly prevented the execution of federal laws and court decrees relating to the Indians. Once the Georgia House of Representatives even passed a bill providing that any federal marshal who attempted to enforce a particular federal court decree would be hanged. South Carolina's nullification of the tariff laws in 1832 was based upon a theory expounded by John C. Calhoun. It was Calhoun's notion that a state aggrieved by a federal law might suspend the operation of the law and report its action to the other states. If three-fourths of them decided that the objectionable law was not unconstitutional then it in effect became gratified. The dissatisfied state would either submit or secede.

Thus the way was paved for the Civil War.

Interposition has a seductive appeal for many a southerner today. But as a legal proposition it has no validity. It is an error which has led to trouble in the past and promises nothing better in the future.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the U. S. Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools is beside the point. All Americans—North and South—are united in a devotion to the constitution and to constitutional government as we have known it through the years. The traditions and principles on which that government is based are worthy of the respect of every citizen.

It must be remembered that we in America live in a federal union under a written constitution which embodies three fundamental concepts.

One is that the citizen has certain individual rights which no one can deny him. These are outlined in the first ten amendments to the constitution, known as the Bill of Rights.

Another is the concept of dual sovereignty, under which certain powers are enjoyed by the states and others by the national government.

Finally, there is the concept of separation of powers, whereby no branch of the government shall be given sovereign power.

But these concepts will amount to nothing unless the constitution is enforced as the law of the land—not merely as a pious hope, not merely as standards for individuals or states to observe or not to observe as they see fit.

Whenever a state steps on the domain of government that action shall be null and void.

It is the same when the federal government takes action encroaching upon the rights of states or individuals.

But if we are to have a government of law and not of arbitrary will there must be a body to declare the law. That body in the United States is the Supreme Court, the keystone of the arch of constitutional government.

* * *

The chief function of the Supreme Court is to stay the hands of those who would encroach upon the rights enjoyed by the federal government, the states or individuals. In addition, it has the obligation of preserving the constitutional balance—between the nation and the states and between the three branches of the national government.

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Charlotte News
Charlotte, N.C.
1-4-56
Cecil Prince,
Associate Editor

RE: RACIAL MATTERS

file 1-5-56-37

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Thus the principles of law and political practice place the guardianship of the constitution in the hands of the judiciary. But the constitution draws the lines in only general terms. They are in constant need of interpretation and reinterpretation.

It was a reinterpretation of the constitution which produced the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, banning segregation in the public schools. The ancient separate-but-equal doctrine was upset. It was, to us, a disappointing decision for the separate-but-equal philosophy seemed well-rooted in law and in logic.

But, as Chief Justice Marshall observed in 1819 in *McCulloch Vs. Maryland*, the constitution is "intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs." It is a living document. It is naive of any American to think that it is finished and immutable. It falls to the Supreme Court to keep it alive and growing. It is true that the interpretations are by men. That is inescapable. But the interpretations are made according to general principles of government in the light of the wisdom of the times under which governmental powers are to be applied.

The decision of the court, however unpalatable, should not be made the subject of scorn. To defy scornfully and arrogantly the law as it is handed down by the court is to defy constitutional government.

Interposition has a fetching label and a history full of bluff and bluster. But it represents a futile, inappropriate gesture. Moreover, it is inconsistent with the principle of constitutional government as we know and practice them.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Avoid 'Nullification'

Stennis Urges State Get Allies For Fight

By LAMAR FALKNER

Sen. John Stennis told the Daily News in an exclusive telephone interview from Washington Wednesday that Mississippi should throw away words like "nullification" and mix with other states for segregation.

"It would be a mistake," Sen. Stennis said, "for one state to attempt to act alone."

He urged that states with problems similar to Mississippi's coordinate legislative moves toward amending the U. S. Constitution to safeguard control over such internal affairs as segregation.

Nullification means lawlessness to many Americans, he pointed out, and language should be designed to attract rather than repel support.

In the interview, Sen. Stennis said also that he:

1. Endorses the Citizens' Councils, adding, however, that he is not a member because "they have not organized in Kemper County," where his home, DeKalb, is located.
2. Sees no justification for a Justice Department investigation of the councils.
3. Would oppose the councils if they "should attempt to substitute themselves for a court."
4. Denies that he is allied with Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman against

Sen. James O. Eastland, Rep. John Bell Williams and Circuit Judge Tom Brady in a split over nullification.

5. Was not invited to attend a meeting in Memphis last week of the Federation for Constitutional Government but did not feel "slighted."

6. Expects a fight for a civil rights plank in the Democratic presidential platform at the national convention in Chicago next summer.

7. Supported Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas as the Democratic nominee for President but refracted

(Continued On Page Twelve)

(Continued from Page 1)
the endorsement at Sen. Johnson's request after his recent illness.

'One State Can't Act Alone'

As to the nullification proposal, which calls for the state legislature to void the U. S. Supreme Court ruling on segregated schools, Sen. Stennis said, "We are dealing with a grave matter that can not be solved by one state acting alone."

"The states affected most by this special problem must move on a common front and on a unified plan that they can agree on," he continued. "I strongly favor forming such a plan and believe that it will be formed and that the plan will include efforts by the states for an amendment to the U. S. Constitution which would, in effect, overrule the Supreme Court decision."

"This would be a constitutional process," Sen. Stennis said. "As to how far the language of such a resolution should go is a matter of opinion. It should certainly cover the voiding of the decision."

"The word nullification is not necessary and for my part I would advise against the use of that particular word," he added. "In some parts of the nation, that particular word carries a meaning of lawlessness and the use of force—the very opposite of what is intended by the people of Mississippi."

"I feel sure that the states can get together on language that they can all approve and can make

common battle for and language that will attract and not repel support."

"There will be much activity along these lines," he said, "but time is necessary, of course."

As to the Citizens Councils, Sen. Stennis said the organizations which have mushroomed throughout Mississippi since the Supreme Court desegregation ruling are "doing some good work."

"I believe they are lawfully conducted and I like their open action," he said. "I believe they will keep it on a high plain."

"I have repeatedly advised that our problem must have the utmost attention at all levels including the local level and the Citizens Council is one way of giving this attention," Sen. Stennis continued. "They reflect collective thought and the common sense approach. I know of many instances in various counties in the state where the council has been very sound and helpful."

'Acting In The Open'

As to the Justice Department's investigation of the councils, he said, "I don't think they'll find any basis whatsoever for any (charges of) illegal or subversive activity. They are acting in the open."

However, he added: "If any Citizens Council should attempt to substitute themselves for a court, I would oppose it."

"I know of no justification for an investigation and assume it came at the insistence of the NAACP or other allied groups," Sen. Stennis said.

Asked if his support of a constitutional amendment might be considered endorsement of Gov.-elect Coleman's charges that the nullification plan is "legal poppycock," Sen. Stennis replied: "I can speak only for myself."

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ACKSON DAILY NEWS
ACKSON, MISS.
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Although he never officially supported Coleman in his gubernatorial race, Sen. Stennis told newsmen at the time that he would vote for him. Coleman also favors a constitutional amendment rather than nullification and has urged that the state move cautiously. The amendment proposal was suggested first by former Gov. Fielding Wright.

As to disagreeing with Sen. Eastland and other nullification advocates, Sen. Stennis said he sees no split in basic issues.

Asked why he did not attend the Memphis meeting, which attracted leading segregationists — including Sen. Eastland — from throughout the South, Sen. Stennis replied that he was not invited.

"As far as I know, they were different states," he said.

He said he expects to attend the Democratic convention in Chicago next summer and predicted a civil rights fight.

"I hope we can put up a solid front against it," he said.

His first choice for the Democratic presidential nomination is Sen. Johnson, who decided not to run after his recent illness. Sen. Stennis said he has not picked a second choice yet.

From The Hall Syndicat, Inc.
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York
FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

1/3/56

INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

file in

This southern White Citizens Council thing may cost the next Democratic presidential nominee millions of political dollars and thousands of campaigners -- all of which would have been supplied by labor in this year.

The boss man of the White Citizens kampf, a man by the name of John U. Barr, has particularly irritated the labor leaders for quite a while now. Ever since 1944, in fact, when he got up and shouted at a meeting that he was launching a campaign:

"...to destroy the political dictatorship of Hillman, Browder and Dubinsky and to save constitutional government."

You need not have had any fraternal sentiment for Sidney Hillman and Dave Dubinsky to resent hearing them linked to Comrade Stalin's comrade, Earl Browder. It so happens I was in a personal feud with the late Sidney Hillman then. But never was it insinuated that the leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union had anything but loathing for Russia's top agent here.

Hillman's

William

As for Dubinsky, this peppery little fellow led the rest of labor in dispatching men, money, materiel and brilliant tactics in a fight which beat down Soviet agents in Germany, Italy, France and Asia. And this at a time when our State Dept. and Allied Military Government was harassing Dubinsky's men and feeding Communist sympathizers and even agents into key positions abroad.

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There were other New Dealers whom John Barr might have singled out for attack and many have wondered why he just happened to pick two New Yorkers of the same religious origin for links with Browder.

Now labor finds that Barr's White Citizens Councils and the Federation for Constitutional Government, led by Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland, has declared war on the unions. That's certainly their privilege, sir. And they're taking full advantage of that privilege, sir.

--MORE--

1/3/56

That's obvious not only from Eastland's blast but from a confidential report drawn up by the AFL-CIO's H.L. Mitchell, president of the National Agricultural Workers Union. "Mitch" reports to his national leaders that the White Citizens thing has infiltrated southern unions.

Mitchell reveals that in Charleston, S.C., an organizing campaign in a rubber fabric plant by the United Rubber Workers Union ended when the local unit of the White Citizens Council intervened.

The Council hit the union with economic and social pressures. It threatened the white employes and warned them to withdraw from the union since it was formed on a plant wide (industrial) basis, including both white and Negro members.

Mitchell reports that in Chattanooga several months ago the local school board decided to integrate Negro and white children in the public schools. The Chattanooga AFL Central Labor Union supported the board's decision to obey the law. Soon, the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation moved. It campaigned among local unions affiliated with the Central Labor Council. And the Central Labor Union had to rescind its support.

Says Mitchell:

"In several other southern cities local union officials upholding the traditions of the labor movement in obeying the laws of the U.S. have also been ousted by movements engendered by the White Citizens Councils."

All this the AFL-CIO national office has observed. But now, faced by a declaration of war on labor by the Federation for Constitutional Government, labor's national chiefs are preparing to throw millions of dollars into their southern organizing campaign. This may well mean diverting the funds from the November presidential drive.

---MORE---

Furthermore, the national labor leaders already are burning up the long distance wires telling intermediaries that they'll sit on their hands and pocketbooks this presidential election if Adlai Stevenson, Gov. Averell Harriman and Sen. Estes Kefauver don't launch a public battle on the White Citizens Council movement.

This civil war has just begun.

(Copyright 1956, The Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

BROWNELL STARTS PROBING

Now comes word from Washington that the Department of Justice is probing the Citizen Councils in Mississippi—at the instigation, of course, of the NAACP.

Go right ahead and probe, Gen. Brownell.

The chief thing you will find is that the Citizen Councils are organized for the purpose of fighting that infamous "Black Monday" decision of the United States Supreme Court ordering integration of races in public schools and colleges.

The Citizen Councils are determined to use every weapon at their command to resist enforcement of that infringement on the sacred personal rights of white citizens.

Nothing secret, sinful or sinister behind the movement. Lawful methods of resistance will be used in every possible way.

If those methods fail other plans will be made. Those plans will all depend on what the Federal government will be planning to do.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

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FREDERICK SELLENS, EDITOR
JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

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- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

Reprisal Drive Charged By Mississippi Negro

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 2 (AP)—A Mississippi Negro leader says Mississippi whites are carrying on a campaign of violence and economic reprisal aimed at driving out a half million Negroes in the next 10 years.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., said yesterday white leaders told him they felt they could stall off school integration for about 10 years before the Federal Government moved in to force it.

"They know that once the Negro gets the unrestricted ballot in his hand there will be some changes made in Mississippi," he told an audience of more than 1,000 attending a rally jointly sponsored by the local National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People and the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

Predicts Integration

And he predicted, "notwithstanding all the violence, all the repression, all the threats, if Mississippi stays in the Union—and I'm not always sure she's going to stay—she's going to integrate her school system just like any other State."

Dr. Howard is chief surgeon of the Friendship Clinic in the all-Negro community and president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

Dr. Howard said integration petitions had been filed in five Mississippi counties and "we're ready to go to court in two coun-

ties." He didn't name the counties.

There are 986,000 Negroes in Mississippi, he said, and only 19,000 Negro voters.

Favors Challenge

"The Mississippi congressional delegation is based on the total population," he continued. "We think Congress should challenge the entire delegation when nearly 48 per cent of the population is barred from voting."

Spearheading the economic drive, he said, is the Citizens' Council, "dedicated to the proposition of continuing segregation at all cost."

Dr. Howard said Negroes were fired from their jobs, refused credit, forced to move from their houses, denied ginning facilities for their cotton for either trying to vote or signing school integration petitions.

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- Miss Gandy

*Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Rosen*

*Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
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Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy*

(SEGREGATION)

BATON ROUGE, LA.--DR. T. R. M. HOWARD, NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS CHAMPION, TOLD AN EMANCIPATION DAY ANNIVERSARY GATHERING TODAY THAT PRO-WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS AIM TO DRIVE A HALF MILLION NEGROES FROM MISSISSIPPI WITHIN 10 YEARS.

HOWARD, FROM THE ALL-NEGRO CITY OF MOUND BAYOU, MISS., TOLD HIS AUDIENCE OF MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS THAT MISSISSIPPI'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION SHOULD BE CHALLENGED BECAUSE A "MOCKERY OF DEMOCRACY EXISTS IN THE STATE."

HE SAID THAT IN SPITE OF THE NEGROES' PROBLEMS IN MISSISSIPPI, "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE NOTHING TO HELP."

THE MOUND BAYOU DOCTOR SAID "AS MEAN AND AS MENTALLY ILL AS THE WHITE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI ARE THEY ARE NOT GOING TO MURDER 986,000 NEGROES." INSTEAD, HE SAID, THEY WILL RELY ON ECONOMIC REPRISALS.

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**Justice Dept. Probes
 Citizens Council Aim**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29.—The Justice Department assured a New York group today it is looking into the activities of the white Citizens Councils in the South.

The councils have been organized to preserve racial segregation in their areas. They developed after the Supreme Court ruled that segregated public schools are unconstitutional.

The department's announcement drew a tart comment from Gov. Hugh White at Jackson, Miss. He called the department a "bunch of meddling jackasses" who "can't do a thing."

The New York City group, the Jewish Labor Committee, had written Washington with a request for an investigation of the councils.

Warren Olney III, in charge of criminal prosecutions for the department, and Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of its civil rights section, replied:

"The activities of the White Citizens Councils are receiving the department's careful attention; you may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority."

Federal laws authorize the department to step in if the authority of public officials or police is used to give the authority of law to any deprivation of civil rights. Ordinarily, the federal government has no power to intervene in activities of private citizens—as contrasted with public officials—in relation to civil rights.

The New York Jewish Labor Committee had made particular reference to the disappearance of Emmet Till, a 14-year old Chicago Negro, in the August "wolf-whistle" case in Mississippi, the killing of a Negro minister in Mississippi last May and the shooting of still another Negro in Mississippi last month.

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THE NEWS & COURIER
 Charleston, S. C.
 Dated 12-30-55
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U. S. Looks Into Activities Of White Councils in South

By the Associated Press

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The councils have been organized to preserve racial segregation in their areas. They developed after the Supreme Court ruled that segregated public schools are unconstitutional.

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U.S. Watching White Councils

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29 (AP)—The Justice Department said today it is giving "careful attention" to activities of the white citizens councils functioning in the South to preserve racial segregation.

The department is investigating whether any Federal civil rights statutes, the necessary base for any Federal intervention, have been violated.

Assistant Attorney Gen. Warren Olney 3d, in charge of criminal prosecutions, and Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of the civil rights section, gave this information to the Jewish Labor Committee of New York City, which recently asked for an investigation of the councils.

The department letter said: "You may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority."

The Jewish Labor Committee request referred to recent acts of violence against Negroes in Mississippi.

In Jackson, Miss., Gov. Hugh White called the Justice Department a "bunch of meddling jackasses" and added, "they can't do a thing, I'm not very interested."

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Citizen Units' Actions Get Justice Study

Associated Press

The Justice Department said yesterday it was giving "careful attention" to activities of the "white Citizens Councils" functioning in the South to preserve racial segregation.

The Department is investigating whether any Federal civil rights statutes, the necessary base for any Federal intervention, have been violated.



Olney

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The Department letter said: "The activities of the white Citizens' Councils are receiving the Department's careful attention. You may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the Department's jurisdiction and authority."

Ordinarily, the Federal Government cannot intervene in activities of private citizens in relation to civil rights. However, the Federal statutes provide for such intervention if the authority of public officials or police are employed to give authority of law to any deprivation of civil rights.

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S. C. Citizens Councils To Hear Eastland

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A slate of speakers, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), will address a statewide rally of the South Carolina Assn. of Citizens Councils here Jan. 26.

The organization was established to oppose mixing of the races. Eastland is backing a drive to coordinate various Southern pro-segregation forces into one political force.

An organization, the Federation for Constitutional Government, has been formed with that purpose in mind. Twelve Southern states were represented at the Memphis, Tenn. meeting at which the alliance came into being.

JACKSON, Miss. (UP)— Gov. Hugh White declared today that Mississippi's pro-segregation white

line here shows increased busi-

Citizens' Councils have nothing to hide from Justice Department investigators, whom he called "a bunch of meddling jackasses."

A report that the Justice Department has the organizations under observation to determine whether an investigation is called for/did not cause alarm among segregation leaders here.

Ellis Wright Sr., spokesman for the Jackson council, largest of the more than 200 chapters in the state, said he "welcomed" the investigation. He was seconded in his statement by W. J. Simmons, state administrator for the councils.

Mississippi's outgoing governor was more outspoken, however. He said the department "can't do a thing. They're just a bunch of meddling jackasses."

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THE COLUMBIA RECORD
Columbia, S. C.

12-30-55

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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

D. of J. Hasn't Found Anything Yet on Mississippi Terror

Seven months, four months and one murderous attack later, the Department of Justice announces that it is still studying whether it can intervene against the anti-Negro terror in Mississippi.

Department declared the kidnap-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till in Tallahatchie County, a state affair, requiring no federal action.

The announcement was made yesterday in a letter made public by the Jewish Labor Committee. In the letter, dated Nov. 28, Arthur B. Caldwell, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Section, assured the JLC "that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority."

And there was a perfunctory peek by the department at the shot-gun assault on Gus Courts, of Belzoni.

The Justice Department's "investigation" of Mississippi terror began after the May 7, 1955, killing of Rev. George W. Lee, in Belzoni.

There has been no action by the department in the most recent slaying, that of Clinton Melton, 33, by a Glendora cotton mill owner.

It continued through the day-night slaying last August of 60-year-old Lamar Smith on the lawn of the Brookhaven courthouse, as Smith sought to certify Negro absentee voters.

No one has been punished for any of these crimes.

The JLC had asked the Justice Department to investigate the activities of the White Citizens Council, the group whose activities had inspired much of the anti-Negro violence. A similar letter to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is still unanswered. Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the subcommittee, is a strong supporter of the WCC's.

Later in the same month the

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VIEW OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

U.S. to Probe Mississippi's Racist Whites

Citizens' Councils Face Close Scrutiny, Justice Dept. Says

The Department of Justice is investigating Mississippi's racist white citizens' councils and "will take appropriate measures" if the situation warrants, according to a letter received here by the Jewish Labor Committee.

The letter, signed by Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of the department's civil rights section, and countersigned by Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general, said the activities of the white citizens' councils "are receiving the department's careful attention."

"You may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority," the letter, addressed to Jacob Pat, executive secretary of the Jewish Labor Committee, said.

Mr. Caldwell's letter, dated Dec. 22, was in response to one addressed by Mr. Pat to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Nov. 26, asking for an investigation of the white citizens' councils in connection with "the breakdown of law enforcement in Mississippi."

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- Mr. Holloman _____
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CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN *P3*

DATED DEC 29 1955

FORWARDED BY N. Y. REGION

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Re: Civil Rights

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BAUMGARDNER

White Groups Face U. S. Quiz in South

By the Associated Press

The Justice Department said today it is giving "careful attention" to activities of the white citizens councils functioning in the South to preserve racial segregation.

The Department is investigating whether any Federal civil rights statutes, the necessary base for any Federal intervention, have been violated.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, in charge of criminal prosecutions, and Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of the civil rights section, gave this information to the Jewish Labor Committee of New York City, which recently asked for an investigation of the councils.

The committee request referred to recent reported acts of violence against Negroes in Mississippi.

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Date DEC 29 1955

5-24-56

White Calls U.S. Probers 'Meddlesome Jackasses'

Governor's Blast Follows Disclosure U.S. To Probe State's Citizens Councils

By LAMAR FALKNER

Gov. Hugh White called the Justice Department a "bunch of meddlesome jackasses" Thursday after the department announced in Washington it has launched an investigation of the Citizens Councils in Mississippi.

"They can't do a thing," the Governor commented tersely to the Daily News. "I'm not very interested. They're just a bunch of meddlesome jackasses."

Officials of the Justice Department's Civil Rights section contended that the inquiry was going forward and that "appropriate measures" may be taken.

They refused further comment, however, on a letter disclosing the investigation signed by Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of the Civil Rights section.

The letter was made public Wednesday in New York by the Jewish Labor Committee, which had asked for an "immediate investigation" of the Citizens Councils.

zori, Miss., chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Courts, a grocer, was wounded in the abdomen and arm by buckshot fired through his store window from an automobile.

The FBI launched an inquiry soon after the November shooting to determine whether any federal laws were violated.

The labor committee's request also touched on the controversial death of Rev. G. W. Lee, a Negro minister, after an auto accident near Belzoni. Negro leaders have charged he had been murdered because of his NAACP activities.

The NAACP charged that the activities of Citizens Council of the state led to the "wanton" killing of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till of Chicago and the "murder" of Rev. Lee as well as other crimes.

At his home in Ruleville, Sen. James O. Eastland called the investigation "pressure group, election year politics." He said he did not know the investigation was underway.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mason
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
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- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

1/29/55
page 1 Cols. 4 - 8

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What About NAACP?

Atty. Gen.-elect Joe Patterson suggested that if the Justice Department investigates the Citizens Councils it should investigate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi.

"So far as I know," Patterson said, "the NAACP activities are more directed toward inciting dissatisfaction and hard feelings between the races than any organization I know of."

"The Justice Department has never seen fit to talk with this office about any such investigation," he said. "I think we're as interested in seeing that laws in Mississippi are enforced as the Justice Department is."

"If the Justice Department is interested," Patterson continued, "it should talk with the high-class gentlemen who head the Citizens Councils in this state."

"They have nothing to hide," he said.

Ellis Wright Sr., president of the Jackson Citizens Council, said his organization "has no fear of any investigation."

"The world knows what we're doing," Wright said. "And it knows how we're doing it. We have no secrets."

Mr. Tolson
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 Mr. Tracy
 Mr. Egan
 Mr. Gurnea
 Mr. Hendon
 Mr. Pennington
 Mr. Quinn
 Mr. Nease
 Miss Gandy

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The letter was made public Wednesday in New York by the Jewish Labor Committee, which had asked an "immediate investigation" of the Citizens Councils.

Caldwell advised the Jewish group: "The activities of the White Citizens Council are receiving the department's careful attention."

"You may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority."

The New York committee specifically asked the department to look into the shooting of Gus Courts, 65, president of the Belzoni, Miss. chapter of the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Courts, a grocer, was wounded in the abdomen and arm by buckshot fired through his store window from an automobile.

The FBI launched an inquiry soon after the November shooting to determine whether any federal laws were violated.

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The Association of Citizens' Councils
 of Mississippi
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 The Jackson Daily News
 Jackson, Mississippi
 December 29, 1955
 Page 1, Column 6,7

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Nothing to Hide' From U.S.

Wright 'Welcomes' Probe of Councils

The president of the Jackson Citizens Council Thursday "welcomed" the Justice Department's announced investigation of the segregationist organization in Mississippi.

Ellis Wright Sr. declared the councils "have told the world openly our aims and what we stand for. The Justice Department investigation is welcomed."

At the same time, Gov. Hugh L. White called the Justice Department officials "a bunch of meddling jackasses" and expressed lack of interest in their inquiry.

Wright, outspoken segregationist, said: "We have nothing to hide from the government. We've discussed the purpose of our organization many times. We will co-operate with the Justice Department in any way possible."

Wright ...

Lee, a Belzoni Negro minister, Lee was found dead after an auto accident near Belzoni last spring. A metal object was found in his jaw.

Wright said the citizens councils have nothing to fear from the Justice probe.

He also praised the campaign started at Memphis yesterday to unify all pro-segregation organizations in the South.

"This unification will mean a stronger voice of the people in preserving our Southern way of life," Wright asserted.

The activities of the white citizens councils are receiving the department's careful attention.

"You may be assured that appropriate measures will be taken should the investigation establish the department's jurisdiction and authority."

Specifically, the JLC sought inquiries into the gun wounding of Gus Courts, 65-year-old president of the Belzoni chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the controversial death of Rev. G. W.

(See WRIGHT on Page 10A)

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STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
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(NAACP)

NEW YORK--THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAS ASKED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER FOR A CONFERENCE AT HIS EARLIEST CONVENIENCE TO DISCUSS WHAT IT SAID WAS "UNDISGUISED ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION" OF NEGRO LEADERS ADVOCATING DESEGREGATION IN MISSISSIPPI.

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE NAACP, TELEGRAPHED THE PRESIDENT DEC. 20 ASKING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PERSONAL MORAL SUASION OF THE PRESIDENT BE USED TO HALT THE PRACTICE.

TOBIAS SAID REPORTS FROM THE NAACP STAFF IN MISSISSIPPI "INDICATE THAT BANKS AND OTHER PRIVATE CREDIT INSTITUTIONS ARE CONSPIRING TO PUT THE SQUEEZE ON NEGRO FARMERS, BUSINESS MEN AND HOME OWNERS WHO ARE ACTIVE IN THE NAACP BY FORECLOSING THEIR MORTGAGES, DEMANDING FULL AND PROMPT PAYMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS AND REFUSING CREDIT."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

SEN. EASTLAND VS. THE CONSTITUTION

Racists Beat Drums for New 'Nullification' Move

By ABNER W. BERRY

TAKING advantage of the government's apathy in the face of open defiance of federal law, a group of political racists, led by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss), has initiated a movement to "nullify" federal authority in the Southern states. The target of the group is the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution which bars states from denying full rights to citizens because of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

More than a week ago Eastland, joined by Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss) and Mississippi Circuit Judge Thomas P. Brady, called on Mississippi and other southern states to consider steps to declare null and void all desegregation court decisions and orders. The Fourteenth Amendment, Eastland charged, "was fraudulently procured and is illegal." He termed the Supreme Court's desegregation decision "tyrannous" and based upon "left wing sociologists" opinions rather than law.

THIS time Eastland, who is considered the leader of those organized political racists pledged to maintain Negroes in second class citizenship, actually followed the lead of Virginia Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia had advanced the idea some weeks ago in connection with proposals he is pushing to evade the high court's desegregation order. Both the Virginia Governor and Eastland go back to Thomas Jefferson's 1798 fight against the alien and sedition laws for their precedents.

Jefferson acted in the interest of the people against a reactionary Congressional act aimed at limiting Constitutional rights. Eastland, on the other hand, is proposing to make null and void sections of the Constitution establishing full citizenship rights for Negroes.

Governor-elect J. P. Coleman of Mississippi disagreed with Eastland, calling the "nullification" proposal "poppycock."

"There is no way to nullify except by secession and the state constitution prohibits that," Coleman said.



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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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- Mr. Winterrowd _____
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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

COLEMAN disagreed only with Eastland's tactics, for the essence of the Governor-elect's legislative proposals to thwart attempts to desegregate amounts in fact to nullification.

Coleman would make it a state crime for a federal officer to attempt to enforce an anti-segregation law or order in Mississippi. And he would make it impossible for an attorney who represents clients pressing for integration to practice law in Mississippi.

The ultimate result of all the Dixiecrat proposals to evade the desegregation ruling, if they are successfully pursued, would be to place the power to interpret the Constitution in the hands of the 48 states. Citizens of the United States would have constitutional guarantees only to the extent of the interpretation of such rights in the various states.

* THE "nullification" proposal is Eastland's latest and most dangerous. He first called for a South-wide organization which would make propaganda for the right to maintain Negro second class citizenship. That proposal was immediately taken up by the various components of the die-hard racist movement, including Sen. J. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.), Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and a number of other Congressmen and state officials. Eastland then proposed that southern state governments ban together and pool portions of their tax monies in the fight to evade the Supreme Court's decision. The purpose of this movement, Eastland said, was to win

friends for the racists throughout the country.

In Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina Negroes have been warned of "dire consequences" if they push enforcement of the desegregation laws. The Jackson Daily News, Eastland's mouthpiece, had this to say about the issue on Dec. 14, after denying that four Negro murders were due to integration:

"The real danger of blood spilling because of integration will not come until serious efforts are made to force Negro children into white schools."

And the Daily News, in a letter issue, characterized Eastland's fight against the Supreme Court as follows in a bold-faced front-page editorial:

"In brief, this is a fight for Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

"This government was created by white men and women.

"It has been made a great nation by white men and women."

Legislation in support of this philosophy is ready for introduction in both the Virginia and Mississippi legislatures in January. And Eastland has pledged to team with his colleague in the U. S. House of Representatives, John Bell Williams, to get something started in this direction in Congress.

There is nothing on the horizon from the federal government or from national political leaders to match this gathering of un-Americans preparing a gang-up against the Constitution and federal authority.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
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Mr. Mason	_____
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Miss Gandy	_____

W.S.

B. F. W. [Signature]

How Money Means Salvation

The Story of Quincy Savings & Loan Co.



BY MARTY RICHARDSON

Two thousand Negro farmers in the rich Delta Mississippi face almost certain starvation next spring. For half a century they have been traditionally going to the white banks in the area to get advance loans on their coming cotton crops. This year the banks are hatching a gigantic plot: they are going to inform the farmers at the last moment that 'because of all this NAACP agitation' no money is available to them. There will be no cotton crop for these farmers, and without cotton they and the thousands of workers who depend on them face actual desperate starvation.

Here is the most dramatic example in recent years of what happens to people who do not have banking institutions of their own. There are a million Negroes in Mississippi. Right in this Delta region where these farmers are there are hundreds of thousands of Negroes, many of them prosperous farmers and industrial workers. But they have never built up big and strong banking or other financial institutions of their own. Now a Negro boy is lynched, two other colored people are killed, Negroes protest against the deaths and try to vote as one means of protest, and the white banks use race-hate to force starvation on a whole people.

Dramatic, Not Isolated
It is not an isolated example, even though it is the most dramatic. The same thing is happening in South Carolina on a widespread scale. White banks answered the Supreme Court's order to end discrimination in the schools with a 'freeze-up' in their business relations with colored people. Starvation, want and desperation result. In Alabama the picture is the same. It has been tried at other times in other areas. It is the crowing injury added to people who have not had the foresight to establish financial institutions of their own—to protect themselves against the stresses and strains that others might occasionally seek to clamp upon them.

But while the examples of Mississippi and South Carolina are the most horrible, they are not the closest to us here in Cleveland.

Have Seen It Here
Right in our own area we have had a bitter opportunity to see what adverse racial policies of a banking institution of another group could do to halt the progress of a community's minority population.

There is one difference in the Cleveland story, however: it has a 'happy ending,' not an ending in the strict sense of the word, but the story has reached the point where a solution of the problem has already been begun—with the use of a Negro banking institution to break the race-hate bottle-necks set up by other bankers.

Here, in a nutshell, is the Cleveland story of a banking miracle:

For many years Negroes in Cleveland lived in a rigid ghetto area; it was largely centered in the Central Area, with a small settlement in Mt. Pleasant; a few dozen families on the West Side, a handful in the Lee Rd. area, and an occasional few breaking into the Glenville area.

Population Spreads
Then the Glenville and Hough areas began to add colored families here and there as the Negro population of the city gained by leaps and bounds. And strange stories began to be heard. Real estate men complained that banks would not finance their mortgage loans if the house happened to be the least bit beyond the 'Negro boundaries' established by the banks.

THE CLEVELAND CALL & POST
DECEMBER 24, 1955
CITY EDITION

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Investigation tracked down these complaints almost entirely to one of the big banking concerns as the center of the trouble. This big bank was a leader in the local banking scene. It set policies that the smaller banks did not dare oppose—for fear of reprisals from the big bank.

Real estate men made still another complaint. "There is a map in their office," several of them reported, "on which there are heavy lines drawn. Inside these boundary lines Negro mortgages will be handled. If you try to finance the purchase of a house beyond these lines, this bank won't accommodate you, and nine times out of ten the others won't either."

Practice There

No picture was ever taken of the map. But it was certainly reported. And the practice certainly did follow such a principle. Or lack of principle. Within the last three years the big banks refused to handle mortgage loans across St. Clair Avenue in the Glenville area; they turned down mortgages East of Parkwood Drive in the same area.

The climax came when a Negro attempted to buy a house in North Glenside. The bank naturally refused. Other banks, even savings and loan institutions, did not dare go against the wishes of the big bank.

Then a Negro insurance company stepped forward with the necessary money. The home was bought. A few months later, Cleveland saw the opening of this section of the state's only Negro owned and operated savings and loan institution, interestingly an outgrowth of that insurance company.

The Line Cracks

It was a matter only of weeks before a sharp crack was seen in the 'Hold-the-Negro' line of the banks. The smaller banks cracked first; bankers are far-sighted men, and they knew that either they could lend the money, or they would soon see Negroes handling the mortgage loans that Negroes needed to buy homes. They saw the light; the line broke.

Last Summer a well known Cleveland businessman and organizational figure went to the Big Bank which had held up Negro advancement for so many years, and happened to drop the information that he was buying lots and building two houses near the Shaker Heights line—formerly taboo territory to the big bank. He said he was going to another bank for the money.

"There is no need for you to do that," the Big Bank told him; "we'll be happy to handle those mortgages." The line was broken. Forever, it is very likely.

The Reason

And it was broken because a Negro financial institution had appeared on the Cleveland scene; the bankers were served notice that if they did not appreciate their huge Negro volume of business, the Negroes of Cleveland could and would do something about it.

This was the Cleveland, Ohio story. It differs from that of Cleveland, Miss. It differs sharply in one respect; in Cleveland Ohio they now have a financial institution of their own. It would be hard to starve any group which invests its money in its own welfare and progress.

It is the story of what Cleveland has already profited and may expect to profit many times over from the establishment of the Quincy Savings and Loan Company three years ago—an institution that is already approaching the two-million-dollar mark in assets.

(Next Week: Negro Banking in the United States.)

Coleman to Defy Miss. Nulification Threat

JACKSON, Miss. —(ANP) — Three of Mississippi's leading white supremacists have met early opposition in their bid to southern states to "nullify" the anti-segregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Governor-elect J. P. Coleman has rejected their proposal, declaring that "there is no way to nullify except by secession" from the Union, "and the state constitution prohibits that."

Coleman replied to a proposal made Monday by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.), and Mississippi Circuit Judge Tom Bratley.

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The Black Digest
December 27, 1955
Page 1

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi
Mississippi

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
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- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Eastland Raises Nullification Flag

By ABNER W. BERRY

To maintain white supremacy in general and segregated schools in particular, Sen. James O. Eastland has called for an all-Mississippi, All-South movement to "nullify" the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. The Mississippi Democrat, who ironically is

chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, would in effect, destroy the power of the U. S. Constitution and U. S. law to guarantee the security of U. S. citizens in states which followed his advice.

Most newspapers carried only a paragraph or two on Eastland's proposals made last Monday in Jackson, Miss., thereby playing down their importance. It could have been inferred from the news stories that Eastland only advised studying the question of "nullification." In fact, Eastland called for action.

Among the reasons for his proposals—which stop just short of actual secession—Eastland included the following:

• "The Fourteenth Amendment under which the tyrannous decisions (of the U.S. Supreme Court against segregated schools—A. W.) were rendered was fraudulent, procured and is illegal."

• "The tyrannous decisions rendered under the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment provide as their ultimate result that the first 10 amendments to our Constitution operate against the states and not for the protection of the states, as the Bill of Rights

was originally intended."

• "The decisions are based upon the writings of left-wing sociologists and not upon constitutional rules of law, and destroy constitutional guarantees which have been in existence for over 80 years.

Eastland cites instances — all before the Civil War — wherein states defied, or sought to defy the Supreme Court and federal law. South Carolina in 1832, he cites, passed a nullification ordinance against a tariff law, and he cites the Hartford Convention of 1814.

In every such case the "nullifiers" were either overruled by the Supreme Court or were forced to repeal their ordinances. The one exception was the state laws cited by Eastland aimed at protecting runaway slaves. Public opinion was too strong in support of these measures.

But Eastland's words are nevertheless important because he is a U. S. Senator. It has not been recorded that Eastland, when he took the Oath of Office, stated his reservations on the 14th Amendment.

This raises the question whether or not his fellow U. S. Senators

have read his statement, in which he was joined by Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss) and County Judge Thomas P. Brady of Brookhaven, Miss., to see whether he is fit to serve in that body.

As to the objectives of Eastland, the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, the Senator's faithful spokesman, editorialized as follows on Dec. 14:

"In brief, this is a fight (Eastland's, Brady's and Williams' for Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

"This government was created by white men and women.

"It has been made a great nation by white men and women."

The Daily News editor wains Eastland's "nullification" proposal represents a high point of his battle against the Constitution. Not long ago he proposed a South-wide organization of racist groups such as the White Citizens Councils. He followed this with a proposal that southern states organize and use tax monies for racist propaganda. Now he openly hints at a revolt against the Union.

A Jackson Daily News editorial in the same issue which carried Eastland's statement on the front page, in discussing the matter of

three Negroes in Mississippi and the shooting of another, says Negroes have not been deprived of their civil rights—yet. Then comes this open-faced threat:

"The real danger of blood spilling because of the integration decision will not come until serious efforts are made to force Negro children into white schools."

Many of Eastland's proposals couched in legal language, are already in shape for the January meeting of the state legislature.

Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman, who does not disagree fundamentally with Eastland, but wants his own particular brand of "nullification," has urged the special legislative committee, appointed to frame a "legal" way around Supreme Court decisions, to stick to the following program:

Prohibit common-law marriages; repeal the compulsory school attendance law; prohibit agitation of lawsuits to break down segregation; establish special requirements for admission to the Mississippi Bar; provide safeguards for citizens against usurpation of rights by persons acting under power of federal authority; cause teachers to file names of organizations to which they belong.

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- Tribune _____
- N. Y. Mirror _____
- Daily Worker _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

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JUL 20 1955

Eastland Paves Way For More Violence

By JIM COOK

(New York Post Correspondent)

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JACKSON, Miss.—White Mississippi asked all Southern states to unite in setting up a "regional commission" authorized to use public funds to maintain segregation and promote white supremacy. The chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), made the proposal at a mass state rally of 2,000 members of Mississippi's White Citizens Councils. The throng roared a thunderous "aye" when Eastland's plan was put to a vote. There was no discussion before the vote and no evidence that anybody wanted any. No dissenting voice was heard.

Six proposed laws, virtually certain to be passed by the Mississippi Legislature here next month, will:

¶Provide penalties against "any person interfering with state law under the color of federal authority." The Governor-elect has said this includes FBI agents who "interfere" with a state case.

¶Tighten the statutes against "unauthorized practice of law," making a lawyer subject to court action under certain circumstances if he handles a case aimed against segregation laws.

¶Eliminate the compulsory school attendance law. This is designed to free the state of any legal responsibility to send Negroes to school. It also would clear the way for Mississippi to place its public school system in private hands, thus sidestepping federal authority.

¶Outlaw common law marriages.

¶Strengthen state libel laws and designate it a crime to make an "abusive telephone call." At present, it is almost impossible to violate the state libel law except by identifying a white man as a Negro.

¶Create a state authority (a commission or department) to work full time to maintain segregation under the laws of Mississippi.

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
LOUISIANA EDITION
12/17/55
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Among the Citizens Council members who voted for the Eastland-Coleman proposals were Gov. White, Lt. Gov. Carroll Martin, Former Gov. Fielding Wright, States Ries Vice Presidential candidate in 1948, and John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi Bar Association.

SEN. STENNIS (D-Miss.) and former Congressman Rankin wired regret that they could not attend but sent their regards.

Stennis (member of the new federal commission named by President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon and Speaker Rayburn

to study constitutional rights), sent a wire praising the councils' "far reaching and helpful service."

As outlined by Eastland, the "regional commission" would be a headquarters agency to coordinate the white South's fight against any change in the racial way of things. It also would be the center for promulgation of white supremacy doctrines.

"I would publicize the facts upon the characteristics, morals and native intelligence of the races . . . and the facts as to how interracial schools lower the educational standards of children and its psychological effects upon pupils of both

racess," said Eastland.

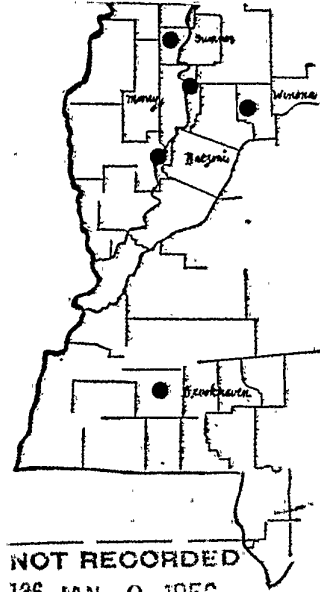
The Senator, from time to time raising his arms and clenching his fists for emphasis, told the crowd at City Auditorium that the attempt to end segregation in schools and public places was "a radical, pro-Communist plot."

SIX TAX-FREE foundations were listed by Eastland as financiers of a campaign to "mongrelize the races." The NAACP was acting as a "front" group in the "conspiracy," said Mississippi's senior Senator.

"The Supreme Court, in the name of law and justice, has perpetrated a monstrous crime," he cried, and there were loud cheers.

Proposing the southwide organization, Eastland said:

"We have nothing to be ashamed of. We mistreat no



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Trouble Spots in Mississippi

one. We are proud of our system.

"Defensive action is the road to destruction and death. We must take the offense. We must carry the message to every section of the U. S."

He insisted that public funds should be used because that is the only way we can get the re-

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Miss Gandy	_____

sources to answer the vast attack and to cope with the tremendous sums that are being used to misrepresent us and to inflame the public mind against us.

EASTLAND MENTIONED seeing several race riots which he said came about "because they tried to force integration."

He said, however, that any illegal force should be avoided by Citizens Council members because "these acts are turned against us."

He mentioned a recent "assault" case in Mississippi which had received wide publicity.

He obviously was referring to the shooting of Gus Courts, 65, president of the NAACP in Belzoni, a delta town which has the most militant Citizens Council in Mississippi.

Eastland said the case was publicized by the "controlled" press because the "plotters" were "afraid of the speed with which the Citizens Council organization was going to the rest of the United States."

EASTLAND'S AUDIENCE was, in the main, a well-dressed and prosperous looking crowd.

A high Council leader had said earlier that "there isn't a man on the Council's state board of directors who is worth less than a half-million dollars."

At the entrance to the auditorium, a man was passing out mimeographed copies of a letter written to the NAACP in New York by Joseph Grisedieck, president of the Falstaff Brewing Corporation of St. Louis.

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The letter insisted the company's name be stricken from the NAACP's membership rolls. The NAACP had given Falstaff a life membership certificate in April, 1954, after the company made a contribution to it.

In recent weeks a hate-sheet called the White Sentinel (published in St. Louis with John W. Hamilton listed as editor and Epler M. Wolf as associate editor) told of the money gift to the NAACP by Falstaff.

* * *

THE WHITE Sentinel warned that the NAACP membership "may well cost it \$5,000,000 in lost sales, as Falstaff drinkers all over the Midwest, Mid-South and parts of the West change to other brands . . . Falstaff owes an apology to everyone who used its beer."

The White Sentinel is regularly distributed by the Citizens Councils of some counties. C. L. Puckett, official spokesman for the Belzoni Citizens Council, said 100 copies of the issue mentioning Falstaff had been issued in Belzoni.

Puckett said white beer drinkers had boycotted Falstaff in recent weeks. He said no official council boycott order had been issued "because we didn't have to issue one."

* * *

THE SAME issue of the White Sentinel recommended a boycott of Philip Morris cigarettes because that company had contributed to the National Urban League.

The boycott is now in progress in Mississippi, but so far Philip Morris hasn't knuckled under.

The loudest foot-stamping and cheering of the day came when Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver were blasted by Dr. W. M. Caskey, professor of political science at Mississippi College, a Baptist institution here.

"Kefauver and others of his ilk appear to be misrepresent-

ing the South . . . and when the chips are down, Stevenson will be found in the NAACP camp." Caskey said. "We can't depend upon either major party. If we stand together we might name a President—we might even name a Southerner."

**900 HEAR
DR. HOWARD ON
MISSISSIPPI**

NEWARK.—A cheering, enthusiastic capacity audience of 900 persons gave Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, militant fighter for Negro rights in Mississippi, a standing ovation here last Sunday at the mass rally sponsored by the North Jersey Medical Society. The rally was held in the Bethany Baptist Church.

When Dr. Howard asked: "How can the State Department go to Geneva, and attend all the other deliberative conferences to talk about free elections in Germany and elsewhere around the world, so long as we have a Mississippi in the United States?" Applause swept the audience.

Another time his remarks met with thunderous approval when he called on the audience to join in a national protest to "put Senator Eastland out of the U. S. Senate, and any others who violate the law of the land." Dr. Howard had just finished describing how Eastland had urged the use of public funds in support of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

The Negro leader described Reverend Lee's fight for the right of the Negro people to vote, and how he was murdered as a result. He said: "Gus Courts (latest shooting victim of the white supremacists) was shot for committing one crime—the crime of wanting to be a first class citizen." Courts name was number eight on a list of Negroes marked for liquidation in Mississippi by Jan. 1. Dr. Howard is number one on the list, and a new list is being prepared, he said.

Dr. Howard called the trial of the two men accused of killing Emmett Till "A Roman Holiday"—not a trial. He pointed out that "There are 986,000 Negroes in Mississippi, 19,000 are registered to vote. But since one has to be paid up two years in a row on the poll tax, fewer than 8,000 vote." But "the Justice Department has failed to deal with these conditions." He asked: "How long will we tell the Big Lie of American Democracy around the world?"

Dr. Howard made it plain that the Negro people are fighting in Mississippi. "The Negroes in Mississippi are not discouraged," he said. "Black men are on the march, and they will not stop marching. They can't kill 986,000 of us. So long as there is one we will fight it out in Mississippi."

Support of the NAACP was strongly urged by the Negro leader. "The NAACP is making it possible for the Negro people in Mississippi to fight back he said.

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- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
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- Mr. Sizoo _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

*Mr. Boardman
William O'Fallon
Miss Gandy*

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Citizens Council of Mississippi

(SEGREGATION)

JACKSON, MISS.--GOV.-ELECT J. P. COLEMAN WARNED THAT ATTEMPTS TO NULLIFY THE SUPREME COURT'S ANTI-SEGREGATION DECISION AS PROPOSED BY TWO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD BE "AN INVITATION FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SEND TROOPS INTO MISSISSIPPI."

COLEMAN CALLED THE PROPOSAL OF SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND, REP. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS AND CIRCUIT JUDGE TOM BRADY OF BROOKHAVEN "FOOLISHNESS" AND "LEGAL DOPPELGÄNGER."

THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE SOUTHERN LEGISLATURES ENACT THE OLD STATES' RIGHTS DOCTRINE OF NULLIFICATION IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE COURT TO CHANGE ITS DECISION.

UNDER NULLIFICATION THE STATES PREPARE TO DEFEND THEIR POSITION WITH THE USE OF TROOPS.

"ALL EFFORTS AT NULLIFICATION IN THE PAST HAVE MET WITH ABJECT FAILURE," COLEMAN SAID. "THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN MAKE IT WORK IS BY SECESSION. MISSISSIPPI CAN'T WHIP THE WHOLE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT."

THE STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL WHO WILL BE INAUGURATED GOVERNOR JAN. 17 MADE THE STATEMENT DURING A MEETING OF THE STATE'S LEGAL EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE WHICH WENT ON RECORD OPPOSING ANY ATTEMPTS AT THE FORTHCOMING LEGISLATIVE SESSION TO IMPLEMENT A NEW PUBLIC SCHOOL ABOLITION AMENDMENT.

COLEMAN SAID HE WOULD VETO ANY BILLS TO ABOLISH SCHOOLS.

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Washington City News Service 12/14/55

Racial Tensions Continue To Grow Over State, Nation

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
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- Miss Gandy _____

Newsman Asserts Economic Sanctions Hurting Negroes

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Powerful economic sanctions are being taken against Negroes who signed petitions asking for an end to segregation in schools in Yazoo City, Mississippi, according to a Mississippi newsman writing in The Reporter magazine.

David Halberstam, reporter on the West Point (Mississippi) Daily Times Leader, describes the present situation in Yazoo City, one of five Mississippi cities selected by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as targets for implementing the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

According to Halberstam, the basis for opposition to N.A.A.C.P. action is being furnished by recently organized Citizens Councils dedicated to maintain segregation.

Names of the signers of the N.A.A.C.P. petition were listed in the Yazoo City newspaper and reprinted in a large advertisement paid for by the councils, Halberstam reports, and it was about that time that firings and boycotts began.

"Either white men would fire a Negro worker immediately or a Negro would lose his job after another white man visited an employer and suggested that a petition signer be fired," he says.

Although many Negroes removed their names from the list, their jobs were not restored, according to Halberstam who reports that 14 signers have left town and others are planning to go. Only those whose incomes come exclusively from the Negro section of town can continue a normal living, he says, and adds that most of the signers are borrowing money from

friends and barely eking out an existence.

"In Yazoo City the racial breach is constantly widening," Halberstam writes. "Neither race is willing to work for mutual goals at this point." Halberstam quotes the chairman of the Yazoo City Citizens Council as saying, "I think integration is wrong. . . This is a real problem, one which might have been worked by time itself—but the N.A.A.C.P. has stepped in before time."

"I don't think you can legislate so completely against custom as

(Continued on Page 16)

Council Actions . .

(Continued from Page 1)

they have in this instance. That's why the people here are doing things they don't want to do, things they don't approve of. . . This is a sad thing, but. . . it's really what we feel is our only means of protection."

Since the petition incident, N.A.A.C.P. membership in Yazoo City has fallen from about 200 to 65, Halberstam says. The N.A.A.C.P. charter in Yazoo City has been organized since 1948, but the petition is the first specific action it has ever taken.

The treasurer of the Yazoo City N.A.A.C.P., who is planning to move, told Halberstam, "I signed that petition because I felt I was working for freedom. I don't feel free now. A man has a right to be a first-class citizen and sign anything he thinks is right without being threatened."

The future of Yazoo City is unpredictable, Halberstam says. The president of the Citizens Council "If people leave us alone, I think the people here will back down and get their feet on the ground, and work on their own problems. But otherwise for every amount of action, I'm afraid there will be a lot of reaction."

The local N.A.A.C.P. president, who is staying in Yazoo City, said, "We believe there can be integration in schools here in three or four years, maybe sooner, and I think the Negroes here are ready

He is planning to file suit for integration with the Yazoo City school board, and says that the swimming-pool decision is next on the list.

Halberstam sums up the conflict of both sides with a quote scratched in Grant's Civil war headquarters two miles out of Yazoo City: "To the owner of this house: Your case is a hard one and I pity you."

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
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 Mr. Tamm _____

Negro Paper Says: Send Troops to Miss

President Eisenhower has been asked by the Pittsburgh Courier to declare the State of Mississippi to be "a state of chaos" and to send troops "to protect the civil rights of a million Negro citizens of that state," it was revealed yesterday

The Courier, a pro-Republican Negro weekly, asked in its letter published in its current issue:

"Are these purveyors of hat from Mississippi's Hell-hole bigger than the U.S. government. Can they defy the laws of the land and the moral conscience of America?"

The editors of the Courier cited the murders in Mississippi this year of Rev. George W. Lee, Lamar Smith and

14-year-old Emmett Louis Till, for which no one has been punished. Also recalled was the fact that two white men—Dr. David R. Minter and A. E. Cox—have been ordered to leave their farm near Greenwood because they were "charged" with supporting racial integration.

Pointing out to the President that "Negro citizens (in Mississippi) have no protection under the law of the state in which they live" and that officials throughout the state have made "a mockery" of law, the editors urged:

"... that you send United States soldiers into Mississippi to protect the civil rights of a million Negro citizens of that state who constitute 49 percent of the state's population."

The letter continued:

"... It is our firm belief that as the nation's Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces there is no other way to protect the lives of these people."

The Courier charged that the White Citizens Councils, a unit of "the disgraceful Federation for Constitutional Government," was behind most of the terror directed against Mississippi Negroes. It called attention to the fact that among WCC members were those whose names are familiar to the political and economic life of the nation... businessmen, bankers, plantation owners state and federal officials."

Touching on America's position in the world, the Courier, which

has frequently been the staunchest supporter of the Administration on both domestic and foreign affairs, warned:

"There can be no lasting peace anywhere in the world unless our nation practices what it preaches.

"... There can be no world leadership for America unless we can convince the rest of the world (63 percent non-white) that we rightfully deserve that role."

Then passing to Mississippi again, the Courier stressed the urgency of its appeal:

"We know, Mr. President, that Negroes are getting tired of being pushed around. They're law-abiding citizens, but they're preparing to PROTECT THEMSELVES."

Referring obliquely to the hands-off policy of Attorney General Herbert Brownell and the Department of Justice on the terror developments in Mississippi, the Courier warned again:

"Unless Mississippi Negroes feel that their government will give them protection which their state refuses to give them, anything can happen."

Miss Gandy _____

*Lee
105-34237*

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Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 Daily Worker / _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

NOT RECORDED
26 DEC 13 1955

Date DEC 8 1955

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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Press Brownell to Act In Mississippi Violence

By EDWARD KATCHER

Attorney General Brownell was urged again today to take action against the "mounting wave of violence and intimidation of Negro citizens in Mississippi."

A resolution calling for federal action was passed last night by the N. Y. Young Democratic Club and a copy was being prepared for forwarding to Gov. White of Mississippi.

Brownell yesterday refused to order a federal investigation into the kidnap slaying of Emmett Louis Till, 14, Negro schoolboy from Chicago, slain while vacationing in Mississippi.

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) spoke at the Young Democrats' meeting. He urged the Democratic Party to "get on fire on social issues or lose" the 1956 election.

In a letter to the Republican Gov. Stratton of Illinois, Brownell said the offense was perpetrated by private citizens and confined to Mississippi.

"Such being the case," he added, "this department is without any authority to take investigative or other action."

The resolution was adopted "in sense" but was referred to a special committee for rewording.

See Campaign of Murder

It pointed out that in recent months "there has been and continues to be evidence of a concerted campaign of murder and other forms of violence directed at Negro citizens in Mississippi, combined with a flagrant failure on the part of responsible officials to investigate such acts and prosecute those responsible."

See story on Gov. Harriman and civil rights issue, on Page 32.

The resolution cited the following examples:

¶ "The murder of Lamar Smith, who had been active in interesting Negro voters in a primary election in Brookhaven, Miss., on Aug. 13, 1955.

¶ "The murder of the Rev. George Lee in Belzoni, Miss. on May 1, 1955, the first of his race to register to vote in the county.

¶ "The kidnapping and murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old boy, near Money, Miss., on Aug. 28, 1955.

¶ "The critical wounding of Gus Courts, former president of the local chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, in Belzoni, Miss., on Nov. 25, 1955."

The resolution pointed out that Sections 241 and 242 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code "characterizes such acts of violence under certain circumstances as federal

Continued on Page 71

White Citizens Council

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N.Y. POST

N. Y. DATE DEC 7 1955 FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

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Urge Brownell Act In Miss. Terror

Continued from page 5

crimes and provides for punishment thereof."

It called on Brownell to use these sections of the code to make an FBI investigation and present the facts to a federal grand jury.

In the event that he finds these sections of the code do not empower him to do this, Brownell was urged to present legislation at the next session of Congress to enable him to seek an indictment "to prosecute as federal offenders those responsible for acts of terrorism and violence such as committed against Negro citizens in Mississippi."

Sen. Humphrey predicted that the next session of Congress would pass an anti-poll tax law and establish a permanent commission of civil rights.

He also called for a stop on "making the Southern Senators whipping boys" in the civil rights legislation fight. The answer, he said, is to elect more Democratic Senators from the Midwest.

In a question-and-answer period after his speech Humphrey said that the 1956 civil rights plank in the Democratic platform would be as strong or stronger than that of 1952.

The Young Democrats also referred to their city affairs committee a resolution calling Mayor Wagner's "handling of the reappointment of Justice Delany unfortunate."

Wagner refused to reappoint Delany to the Domestic Relations bench because of his alleged left-wing sympathies.

The city affairs committee is making a report on the Wagner administration which is expected to fully cover the Delany matter.

*Place info re
White Party Texas Herald
forwarded HRC 12, 1955
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- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
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- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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Eastland at Mississippi Rally Spurs Racist Drive

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 5.— Sen. James O. Eastland was back at his old stand here over the week-end egging on the White Citizens Councils and all southern states to fight the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling through a South-wide, tax-supported commission.

Speaking before a meeting of the White Citizens Council, Eastland called the anti-segregation ruling a "monstrous crime," and charged that in Washington school integration had brought on "a definite lowering of standards." Eastland's attacks on the Supreme Court and Negroes, made in the tradition of the most despised 19th Century racist rabble rousers, was applauded 63 times. Eastland accused those who oppose segregation of making a "vast attack" against the South, making it necessary for southern states to use tax monies to finance a defense of segregation.



EASTLAND

Eastland's proposed commission would "acquire and publicize the facts as to how interracial schools lower the educational standards of children and its psychological effect upon pupils of both races." In integrated schools, he averred, "the white children are being pulled down to the intelligence level of the Negroes."

He proposed a campaign to "prove" that Negroes are inferior intellectually to whites.

Desegregation, Eastland de-

clared, is a "radical, pro-Communist plot."

The 2,000 WCC members then adopted a six-point legislative program which included: a law to penalize Federal agents for "interfering with state law"; make it impossible for lawyers who handle desegregation cases to practice law in Mississippi; abolish compulsory school attendance so as to clear-

the way for placing schools in private hands; legalize common-law marriages; make "abusive telephone calls" a crime against the state; establish a state agency whose main function would be to maintain segregation.

Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss) wired his regrets at not being able to attend this gathering of well-dressed white supremacists.

Meantime, both the state police and the FBI have definitely called off their probe of the shooting last week of Gus Courts, a Belzoni Negro storekeeper. FBI headquarters in Memphis announced the work of FBI agents constituted an "inquiry" and not an investigation. They were trying to find out only whether any federal laws had been broken.

Courts, who was shot by unknown white men because he insisted upon voting, was scheduled to be discharged from a Mound Bayou hospital where he was carried a week ago.

It was also learned that FBI agents, investigating the murder last May of Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, had not questioned Mrs. Rosebud Lee, the slain man's wife, before winding up their inquiry and making a report to Washington.

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- Daily Worker 3 _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

Date DEC 6 1955

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12-6-57

People Are Masters Of American Courts, Sen. Eastland Says

Sen. Eastland's address in full: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of the Mississippi Association of Citizens' Councils, ladies and gentlemen:

You have greatly honored me by inviting me to address you at this the first statewide meeting of the membership of the Citizen's Councils. You comprise a great patriotic organization.

Your leaders are courageous, intelligent, and forthright. You have accepted one of the greatest challenges which has ever faced a people. There is at stake the preservation of the American system of Government with its dual powers, which provide for additional liberty and freedom. There is further at stake the racial integrity, the culture, the creative genius, and the advanced civilization of the white race. The entire future of this country is at issue. You have accepted the gauntlet and are fighting for these things. In addition, you are protecting home and fireside, and the welfare of our children. Yes, you have honored me by inviting me to address such a group as you on an occasion such as this. When history writes its final verdict on this present generation of Mississippians and Southerners, the names of you ladies and gentlemen here assembled will have a very high place upon the Roll of Honor. In a time of grave troubles, you have reacted in keeping with the finest and highest traditions of our State and Region. As long as Mississippi and the South are blessed with people such as you, we have no fear of the future.

The Government of the United States is unique from all others ever established in that it recognized in the organic Constitutions that the reservoir of sovereignty

THE CLARION LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
12/2/55
Pages 4, 5 & 6
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and power for government was vested in the people. This condition had to be written into the Constitution of the United States before the original thirteen States would adopt it. It is expressed in these words:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Those great men who framed the Constitutions of the State of Mississippi translated this reservation for you in this language:

"The enumeration of rights in this constitution shall not be construed to deny and impair others retained by, and inherent in, the people."

These are not idle words. They constitute a statement of your birthright; your heritage, and your sacred trust for future generations.

The inspiration for these great reservations is founded in the origins of the common law. The common law has a much longer history in this country than does the Republic. It was planted at Jamestown and Plymouth with the original settlers.

The Common-Law, in contrast with the Roman Law and the Civil Law under which most of Western Europe lives, is no Code that is written by an all-powerful and omniscient State. The Common-Law in its essence is no more nor no less than the rules of conduct that the people prescribe for themselves at the level of the community. They are directed toward the maintenance of peace, domestic tranquillity and good order. They are founded upon the habits, customs, and traditions of the people who live in the smallest segment of an organized society—the community.

This is the legal definition of the basis of our law:

"Law is not a body of commands imposed upon society from without, either by an individual sovereign or superior, or by a sovereign body constituted by representatives of society itself. It exists at all times as one of the elements of society springing directly from habit and custom. It is, therefore, the unconscious cre-

ation of society or a growth. For the most part it needs no interpreter or vindicator. The Members of society are familiar with its customs and follow them, and in following custom they follow the law."

The people granted to the federal and state governments certain well defined, clear, and specific rights, powers, and duties. There is nothing in the United States Constitution, or the amendments thereto, that gives to Congress, the President, or the Supreme Court the right or power to declare that white and colored children must attend the same public schools. There is nothing in this document that authorizes a decree that white and black people must eat at the same public places, play on the same recreation grounds, golf on the same courses at the same time, and swim and bath in the same pools, lakes, and beaches.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the false name of law and justice, has perpetrated a monstrous crime. It presents a clear threat and present danger, not only to the law, customs, traditions, and racial integrity of Southern people, but also to the foundations of our Republican form of Government. Washington warned that the usurpation of power is a corrupting force. In his Farewell Address, he said:

"The Constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all."

"Let there be no change by usurpation; for though there in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

Jefferson foresaw that in the three Branches of the Federal Government, the Supreme Court was the Achilles heel, and it could someday act like a "thief in the night" to steal away the basic rights and liberties of the people.

Abraham Lincoln advocated defiance of the Supreme Court. This is what he had to say:

"The people—the people—are the rightful masters of both

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

BURMAN

congresses and courts—not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert it.”

The anti-segregation decisions are dishonest decisions. Although rendered by Judges whose sworn duty it was to uphold the law and to protect and preserve the Constitution of the United States, these decisions were dictated by political pressure groups bent upon the destruction of the American system of Government, and the mongrelization of the white race. The Judges who rendered them violated their oaths of office. They have disgraced the high office which they hold. The Court has responded to a radical pro-Communist political movement in this country. I do not have to tell you that this thing is broader and deeper than the N. A. A. C. P. It is true that the N. A. A. C. P. is the front and is the weapon to force integration. It is the agent. It is the action group. It is backed by large organizations with tremendous power, who are attempting with success to mold the climate of public opinion, to brainwash and indoctrinate the American people to accept racial integration and mongrelization. Benjamin Disraeli, a great British Prime Minister, once said:

“No man will treat with indifference the principle of race, for it is the key to history.”

This is a historic biological and psychological truth but it is denied, and those who espouse it are ridiculed in present day America. Time will not permit me to list the organizations and groups who back, support, cooperate with and direct the N. A. A. C. P. In general they are church groups, racial organizations, labor unions, and liberal groups of all shades of red. They run from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equally red of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Never in the history of this country has there been such a campaign as they now wage against us. Children are indoctrinated in the schools. Students in colleges are brainwashed. Let me say here that we do not have much of this in Mississippi. There is probably more of it in other Southern States. It is general, however, in the rest of the country. The Foundations, and other groups, with tremendous sums of tax exempt money, are financing this drive in a big way. The facts show that most of the money the Foundations spend goes into the field of civil rights and the promotion of the doctrine of racial amalgamation.

The Ford Foundation is the largest and most generous of the Foundations dedicated to establishing social equality between black and white races. It has assets in excess of 520 million dollars. A special Department was set up known as the Fund of the Republic with a grant of 15 million dollars to be spent for “examination of restrictions of freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States.” Three hundred and ninety thousand dollars of this sum has gone to the Southern Regional Council to promote racial integration in the South. Ten thousand dollars was given to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. for its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations. Most of the 15 million dollars has been expended in one fashion or another to destroy the white South. Finally it recently gave \$50,000 to the Legal and Educational Fund of the N. A. A. C. P. This is the way lawsuits will be financed in Mississippi and in other Southern States.

The Carnegie Foundation financed completely the work of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal and his collaborators in the preparation and publication of “An American Dilemma”, the key “Modern Scientific Authority” on which the Supreme Court relied to sustain its psychological and sociological segregation decision.

The Carnegie Corporation has also made heavy contributions to the National Urban League.

Other foundations that have been active in contributing their funds and effort to aid the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League and similar organizations are the Marshall Field Foundation, the Rosenwald Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Dorothy and Louis Rosenfeld Foundation. These and other anti-segregation organizations control news services, the magazines, the radio and television chains. There is a continual rain of propaganda. There are no facts from the other side. The South today is the victim of forces and influences that originated far from its own borders. It is foolish for us to deny the power and influence of those that are arraigned against us. When groups can subvert the highest Court of this land, and control the President of the United States, they must be reckoned with. Never in the history of the United States has there been such a well planned, massive and effectively executed propaganda barrage as that now directed against us. The plan is to destroy every phase of segregation in this country.

They have through the political opinions of the Court removed the legal road blocks. They now attempt to mould public opinion to accept full social equality and amalgamation.

The present condition in which the South finds itself is more dangerous than Reconstruction. It is more insidious than Reconstruction. There was no attempt to have interracial schools during Reconstruction. It is more dangerous in that the present Court decisions are built upon gradualism. To induce us to agree or to force us to comply step by step. In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once. Our ancestors rallied and stopped it. Its weakness then was that they attempted to enforce it all at once. It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism.

There is only one course open to us and that is stern resistance. There is no other alternative. We must fight them with every legal weapon at every step of the way. Southern people are right both legally and morally.

If we knuckle under to this, then every right we have is gone. The way I know Mississippians and Southerners, thank God, our people are made of sterner stuff. There will be a fight each step of the way. It is up to us to prove that we are worthy to be free. It is up to us to prove that we are worthy of our heritage. My prediction is that the next few years will be the golden hour of Southern history. Southern people will meet the acid test. They will fulfill their destiny. Lawless acts of a Court do not make the law. Corrupt decisions of a Court do not change the law. The Supreme Court does not have the power to change the Constitution of the United States. There is no law that a free people must submit to a flagrant invasion of their personal liberty. Our position is sound under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The drive for racial amalgamation is both illegal and immoral, and those who would mix little children of both races in our schools are following an illegal, immoral and a sinful doctrine. Remember this: No people in all the history of Government have ever been forced to integrate against their will.

There is only one prescription for victory. As we prepare to fight, this is basic: Organization. Every step must be based upon and through our organized effort. We

must organize and we must be militant. That is the prescription. The only way that we can mobilize all of our strength is through organization. The only way we can make effective use of it is through organization. We must match the organizing ability and the tactics of the N. A. A. C. P. They have done a successful job. They did not submit when Court decisions were against them. They fought and are still fighting. This we most certainly must do.

A wonderful job has been done in Mississippi. You have shown a will to resist. My friends, resistance is contagious. Resistance inspired by the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi has spread all over this country. I know of a Citizens' Council, but with another name, in the heart of Chicago. Organizations to resist are springing up all over the United States. Remember the problem of social equality and racial amalgamation is nationwide in scope. There is now organized effort to resist, to my knowledge, in more than thirty states. The Citizens' Councils of South Carolina have more than 50,000 members. The organization in Virginia got the State to adopt a state policy to preserve segregation. Mississippi is the hard core of the resistance in the country. It is spreading from here throughout the nation. It is growing very very fast. The Citizens' Councils and similar organizations but with different names are the only effective opposition the N. A. A. C. P. has ever had. The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi have been the most effective of all. The N. A. A. C. P. well knows that the organization of our people has been highly successful. They are afraid when they see it spreading throughout the country. Mississippi recently has been singled out for massive assault. Do you realize the principal reason? It was an attempt to make the Citizens' Councils and our people too hot to touch. It was an attempt to discredit your organization, our State, and our people to prevent our organization and ideas of resistance from spreading throughout the South. No one knows better than the N. A. A. C. P. how effective the Citizens' Councils have been. No one is more aware than they of how highly contagious your organized efforts have been.

Northern politicians will make a mistake if they misjudge the determination of Southern people. The Court and other pressure groups actually expected Southern people to knuckle under and sub-

mississippi has spread all over this country. I know of a Citizens' Council, but with another name, in the heart of Chicago. Organizations to resist are springing up all over the United States. Remember the problem of social equality and racial amalgamation is nationwide in scope. There is now organized effort to resist, to my knowledge, in more than thirty states. The Citizens' Councils of South Carolina have more than 50,000 members. The organization in Virginia got the State to adopt a state policy to preserve segregation. Mississippi is the hard core of the resistance in the country. It is spreading from here throughout the nation. It is growing very very fast. The Citizens' Councils and similar organizations but with different names are the only effective opposition the N. A. A. C. P. has ever had. The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi have been the most effective of all. The N. A. A. C. P. well knows that the organization of our people has been highly successful. They are afraid when they see it spreading throughout the country. Mississippi recently has been singled out for massive assault. Do you realize the principal reason? It was an attempt to make the Citizens' Councils and our people too hot to touch. It was an attempt to discredit your organization, our State, and our people to prevent our organization and ideas of resistance from spreading throughout the South. No one knows better than the N. A. A. C. P. how effective the Citizens' Councils have been. No one is more aware than they of how highly contagious your organized efforts have been.

mat. They are surprised at the de-
termination of our people. I have
noted that the Attorney General

Eastland

(Continued from Page 4)

of the United States is sending the
F. B. I. into Mississippi and other
Southern States in an attempt to
bluff and intimidate Southern peo-
ple. Of course, we want them to
investigate crime, but the political
investigations such as occurred in
Holmes County and in Arkansas
are another matter. They went to
Floxie, Arkansas and attempted to
intimidate the people to agree to an
interracial school. This bluff will
not work. Let me say further that
Mississippians are law abiding. In
law enforcement we rate well
above Illinois, New York and all
of our detractors. Our State en-
forces the law without favor. The
fight that we wage must be a just
and legal fight. Acts of violence
and lawlessness have no place.
Violence hurts the cause of the
South. Violence and lawlessness
will hurt this organization. These
acts are turned against us by our
enemies. They are effectively used
to mould public sentiment against
us in the North. It is imperative
that we be looked upon with favor
and have the best wishes of the
average American. In this fight
we should be mistreated. The
and file of the Negro race in Mis-
sissippi and in the South are
relentlessly demanding interra-
cials. They are not militant-
ly demanding the end of segrega-
tion. They are sensible. The white
people also desire peace and har-
mony. This is all we want. If it
were not for a few trouble makers
and agitators, this thing would
settle itself. There would be no

problem at all. The trouble comes
from a few agitators within and
the organizations in the North. It
is to meet this threat that we must
organize. It is the responsibility of
the organization also to do all it
can to prevent violence and to pre-
vent the mistreatment of any man.
My friends, the white and Negro
people in the South have travelled
a long, sometimes hard, but mutu-
ally satisfactory road since the
days of Reconstruction. The insti-
tution of segregation has been the
primary instrument in the growth,
development, and progress of the
Negro race.

It was on a voluntary basis that
at the end of the Civil War they
left the white churches and orga-
nized their own. Regardless of
what Northern radicals might have
wanted, even the carpetbag and

(Continued on Page 5)

scalawag State Legislatures estab-
lished separate schools for white
and Negro children. The Negroes,
with a deep and natural pride in
race, were ready and willing to
work out their own salvation. They
had the financial aid and en-
couragement of the white people.
No similar group of people in
known history have made greater
strides and advancement in so
short a period of time as have the
American Negro under segrega-
tion. The white people have been
largely responsible for this pro-
gress.

The monuments to their progress
can be found in the schools, church-
es, fraternal orders, banks, hospi-
tals, insurance companies, busi-
ness establishments, and farms
that are owned and operated sole-
ly by Negroes. Their preachers,
teachers, lawyers, doctors, scien-
tists, farmers, and businessmen
are the living evidence of what
they have accomplished with the
aid of white Southerners.

The Negroes who graduate from
Northern colleges and universities
are forced to come South in order
to secure employment as teachers.
We have 113,000 Negro teachers in
the South. South Carolina alone
employs more Negro teachers than

do all the States of New York,
New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Mas-
sachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont,
Rhode Island, New Hampshire
and Maine combined and with 2,000
to spare. Yet the combined Negro
populations of these nine States
exceeds that of South Carolina by
more than a million persons. In
all the 31 non-segregated States
there are only 10, 248 Negro teach-
ers. In all of the North there
are only 100 Negro college instruc-
tors. In host fields of endeavor,
those who receive college and pro-
fessional training find that the
South offers to them the widest
field of opportunity.

Thurgood Marshall, the chief at-
torney for the N. A. A. C. P., is
a product of the segregated school
system.

The field for Negro advancement
in the South under our system
of segregation is unlimited. No one
wants to deny the Negro economic
opportunity or economic equality.
It is a historic fact that Southern
white people are the best friends
he has ever had. It is where the
social question of integration and
social equality enters that we draw
the line. This will not work for
either race.

We in the South cannot stay lon-
ger on the defensive. This

road to destruction and death. We
must take the offense. We must
carry the message to every sec-
tion of the United States. Our po-
sition is righteous. The great ma-
jority of the rank and file of the

people of the North believe exactly
as we do. The law of nature is on
our side. After all, the average
American is not a racial pervert.
We must place our case at the bar
of public opinion. As I have said,
vast sums of money, much of it
tax exempt, are being thrown into
a vast program of propaganda and
outright falsehood to misrepresent
Southern views and conditions in
the South. Millions of fair-minded
Americans in other regions denied
access to the truth, are being
holdwinked, misled, and deceived
by this cunning campaign. In its
essence it is an attack upon the

power of the States, and upon the
American system of Government.
The Negro is being used as a pawn
by those who plot the destruction
of our Government. The Communist
conspiracy can never succeed
in America unless there is first
destroyed the powers of the States.
It can never succeed until the peo-
ple are deprived of the power to
control their local institutions.
When the Supreme Court destroys
local self-government in the South,
it also destroys it in the North. We
must meet these attacks. In my

judgment it is urgently impera-
tive that the Southern States set
up a regional commission to an-
swer these attacks upon us. Public
funds should be used. In fact the
use of public funds is the only way
we can get the resources to an-
swer the vast attack and to cope
with the tremendous sums that
are being used to misrepresent us
and to inflame the public mind
against us. We have nothing to be
ashamed of. We mistreat no one.
We are proud of our system. Why
should we not advertise and ex-
plain it? The Southern States have
not only the legal right but the legal
duty to set up this Commission
and to finance its activities
with public funds. This is an at-
tack upon the sovereignty of the
States, and a State has the legal
right and the legal duty to protect
its sovereignty. It is obligated to
protect and preserve its powers.
To take the defense is our best de-
fense. In addition, the Commis-
sion should make a study of race.
It should acquire and publicize the
facts upon the characteristics, the
morals, and the native intelligence
of the races. It should acquire and
publicize the facts as to how in-
tegrated schools lower the educa-
tional stands of children, and its

psychological effect upon pupils
of both races. There should also
be publicized conditions that pre-
vail in the interracial schools of
Washington and New York.
A concerted attempt is being
made to suppress the truth of what
is going on in the Washington
school system. President Eisen-
hower promised that the Washing-
ton schools would be a laboratory
to demonstrate to the world how
easily and effectively integration
and Democracy would work. Presi-
dent Eisenhower's own grandchil-
dren have been removed from a
system that permits integrated
schools and placed in a private
Episcopal school in Alexandria,
Virginia.
In Washington, there is one ele-
mentary school which is located
in the heart of a white residential
district where most of the high
officials in Government, including
the Vice President, and Members
of Congress live. During the last
school year this was operated as
a segregated school. It is most
amusing to note that for the cur-
rent school year one lone Negro
student has been assigned to at-
tend this "integrated" school. The
situation is not funny or amusing
for the white parents and children
who are forced to use the truly in-
tegrated schools in the Washing-
ton system.
They boasted that Washington
schools would be an example of
how good racial integration would
be. Now they do everything possi-
ble to hide the example but the
facts are leaking out.
In a recent meeting of the City
Commissioners in Washington, one
Commissioner charged that pro-
motions in the District of Colum-
bia City Schools were made by
weight and poundage. To this the
Superintendent of Schools replied
that it was not true that promo-
tions in the District of Columbia
schools are by size but it is true
that promotional standards from
one class to another will have to
be lowered to accommodate the
average.
Both Negro and white teachers
admit there is a definite lowering
of standards in the integrated
schools. The white children are be-
ing pulled down to the intelligence
level of the Negroes. A Negro prin-
cipal said:
"I wonder if it isn't more im-
portant to American cultural pro-
gress to sacrifice scholastic stan-
dards for the additional value of
both groups sharing the experience
of living together."
It is facts like these which should
be given the American people.
They are being hushed up now.

My friends, we can be crushed by the weight of public opinion. We can only win this fight through favorable public opinion. The greatest danger is not in the Court. They are politicians and can change their minds. The dangers are the organized pressure groups who stand behind the Court, the groups who manipulate the politicians. Their propaganda must be met. Their power must be counteracted with favorable public opinion. With favorable public opinion we control politicians. We control Courts. We control Governments. The South's side must be presented to the nation. We must then mobilize that opinion into political action. That is why an organization of the people, and the Commission to generate favorable public opinion is basic. It is fundamental in this great controversy. This is one great step on the road to victory.

The effective way to oppose integrated schools and this attack on a segregated society is through the Government of the States. The attack by the United States Supreme Court is directed primarily against the States since a school district, or a county, is a political subdivision created by and subject to the will of the States. As long as State Governments stand firm, I have no fear of the outcome. The history so far has been that the encroachments of integrated schools come when a school district does not have the support of the State Government. If we contest at the local level, by individual school districts, or by a county, or on a community basis, we are sitting ducks and will be picked off one by one. The State can take action which the individual district cannot. The State and not one but the State can segregate under the police powers, to promote the public health, raise academic standards, protect the psychological welfare of the child, prevent violence, promote peaceful and harmonious race relations. This kind of segregation is not based upon race. Remember the Supreme Court said segregation solely because of race violates the 14th Amendment. The state, if necessary, can abolish school districts, create other ones and thus remove the corpus or the basis of a suit. This would mean the whole

case must start over, with years delay. By changing State laws, creating new State policies which must be litigated, and which must go to the Supreme Court of the United States, the States can thus litigate this matter for an indefinite period of time in hostile Federal Courts. The State Government should defend the suits. As I view the matter, it is fundamental that each Southern State must adopt a State policy or State program to retain segregation, and that all the power and resources of the State be dedicated to that end. Let us look at two Southern States and see the effect of action or non-action by the State. The Supreme Court decision which held segregated schools violated the 14th Amendment to the Constitution was directed against a school district in one county in the State of Virginia. Virginia has a great Governor. The people of Virginia have strong leadership. A State commission, called the Gray Commission, was appointed which recommended policies for the State to adopt to retain segregated schools, even though the United States Supreme Court had ordered that the schools in one district of Virginia be integrated or substantial progress made toward integrating them. In spite of this decree there is not an interracial school in the State. Virginia has a State policy, a State program to preserve school segregation. I think there is merit to their program. The people of Virginia have the support of their State Government. The State of Arkansas has no program to retain segregated schools. There is no State policy. The legislature has not acted. One high official of the State Government is quoted in the public press as stating that it is a matter for each school district to decide, and that each school district can formulate its own policies and conduct its own defense. There are instances of integrated schools in the State of Arkansas, yet there are instances of racially integrated schools. There are plans to integrate in localities in Tennessee because that State government has no policy or no program to preserve segregated schools. The school board in Chattanooga, which is self-perpetuating, announced it

would make plans to integrate. The city has 22% Negroes. On the local level the people, standing alone, are sternly resisting the Board. These two state governments will not take action to preserve their sovereignty and to protect their people as they are legally obligated to do. Racial integration will occur in Arkansas, in Tennessee, or in any other State where through fear, weakness, inaction, or because the state leadership believes in racial integration, there is no state policy to oppose it. Let me say here it would not occur if their state governments would take action to oppose it.

We are all proud of the way the officials of Mississippi and the people acted in unison to counteract the threat to segregated schools. Governor White is to be commended on his creation of the Legal Educational Advisory Committee membership thereof. Governor-elect J. P. Coleman is to be commended also on the six timely and wise recommendations which he has made to the LEAC. The LEAC has already endorsed the recommendations, and I sincerely hope that the Legislature will take such steps as it feels are wise and proper for the realization of these recommendations. The white citizens of this State, and the children, are protected and shielded by the power and sovereignty of the State. Mississippi led the way and furnished the example that others have emulated within the framework of their own State Constitution and laws. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to those writers in Mississippi who have spoken out clearly and courageously on this grave question. I refer specifically to Major Frederick Sullens, Mr. Tom Ethridge, and Charlie Hills.

My friends, those who say that this matter can be fought out locally, in the different communities, whether intentional or not, are allied with the N. A. A. C. P. Any state government which refuses to resist the integration of the schools is an ally of the N. A. A. C. P. It is basic in this whole controversy that the resistance in the Court must be by the state governments. Any other road will lead to defeat and destruction.

In this struggle there is a duty and responsibility for all of us. I think Southern Senators and Congressmen should unite to fight upon the national scene. We should cooperate with the resistance and give leadership to Southern people. The way to get this united front is through the organization of the people in the States. There

should be a national program promoted by the organized effort of the people and sponsored by the Congressional delegation to remove by legislative action the illegality which the Court has placed upon segregation. In fact the fight must be nationwide in scope to submit a constitutional amendment to give the States and the people control of their local institutions and their domestic affairs. This is a matter of years. Who can say it cannot be done? Ten years ago the Supreme Court was unanimous against the illegal or unconstitutional aims of the N. A. A. C. P.

We will without question fight the punitive legislative proposals which will attempt to authorize the use of Federal force against us. There is certain to be some far reaching and very radical proposals in the next few years. Proposals which would give far reaching powers to implement and enforce judicial tyranny. We will certainly need the Regional Commission to explain them in their true light to the American people.

We in the Congress have a great forum to give the American people the facts on the South's side of this controversy, and to awaken the right thinking people of the North to the fact that if local self-government is destroyed in the South, it is also destroyed North of the Mason Dixon Line. Every section of the country has its local problems and they should be all combined in this legislative plan. The way to get this plan and to get the South's delegation to unite behind it is through the power of a Southern organization such as you Mississippians have set up.

My friends, we are involved in a great conflict. A fight not only to maintain and perpetuate the laws, customs, traditions, and the culture of our Southern way of life but to restore and revitalize the Republican form of government which is the greatest of our heritages from the past. Each of us has an important part to play. Our message must be carried up and down the highways and byways of the nation. Right-minded people and men of goodwill fir

Eastland - - -

(Continued from Page 5)

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every corner of this country will join with us. There can be no outcome but total and complete victory.

We have reached an era of "judicial tyranny". Anglo-Saxon people, from their earliest origins, have held steadfast to the belief that "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God". This resistance was the foundation of those glorious events in the history of freedom that led from the Magna Charta, to the American Revolution.

Under our common law and under our Constitution, no man or body of men may make law for free men except the elected representatives of the people. The Supreme Court is not composed of elected representatives of the South or any other segment of this nation. Its present tyranny will not only be resisted but overcome.

Southern people have been tested in the past and have not been found wanting. They have met the challenge of tyranny with courage and fortitude. Henry W. Grady, a great and eloquent leader, in a past time of trouble, described the character and spirit that permeates the Southern people. It was true in 1889 when spoken; it is true today. He said:

If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence

and responsibility of a free community. Against it, numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law, or divorced in force. It is the inalienable right of every free community. It is on this, sir, that we rely in the South. Not the cowardly menace of mask or shotgun, but the peaceful majesty of intelligence and responsibility, massed and united for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty."

EASTLAND HITS RACIAL VIOLENCE

Senator Addresses Rally of Citizens Councils

By W. F. MINOR

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss. Dec. 1 — Mississippi's white citizens councils were told here Thursday by U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland that if they resort to "violence and lawlessness" in trying to preserve segregation "these acts will be turned against us by our enemies."

Eastland told a statewide rally of the citizens councils that the South needs a regional commission backed by public funds to swing national opinion against integration.

This proposal was quickly endorsed by the rally, which fell far short of the anticipated 10,000 gathering. Officials of the Jackson city auditorium said around 2,000 attended the rally.

Eastland said that the citizens council movement launched in Mississippi to preserve segregation at the local level represents the "hard core of resistance" to integration of the races which exists in the South.

Advises Offensive

"The NAACP well knows that the organization of our people has been highly successful," he declared.

But he warned that "in this fight no one should be mistreated," adding that violence could be "effectively used to mould public opinion against us in the North."

On a broad scale, he said, the South must launch a counter offensive to the integration drive of the NAACP and other organizations by "presenting the South's side to the nation" and by "mobilizing this opinion into political action."

The biggest danger to keeping segregation in the South, he said, "is not in the court—it is the organized pressure groups who

stand behind the courts—the groups who manipulate the politicians."

The South, he declared, "has nothing to be ashamed of . . . we mistreat no one . . . we are proud of our system . . . why should we not advertise and explain it."

'Right' Expressed

Eastland said that the Southern states have both the "legal right" and the "legal duty" to create a Southern regional commission and finance its activities with public funds.

"This is an attack on the sovereignty of the states and the state has the legal right and the legal duty to protect its sovereignty," he declared.

One point which such a commission should stress he said is that "interracial schools lower the educational standards of children and has a bad psychological effect upon pupils of both races."

In Washington, D. C., which he said was chosen by the Eisenhower administration as a "laboratory to demonstrate to the world how easily integration and democracy would work," cabinet and leading government officials still send their children to segregated schools.

- Mr. Tolson _____
 - Mr. Nichols _____
 - Mr. Boardman _____
 - Mr. Belmont _____
 - Mr. Mason _____
 - Mr. Mohr _____
 - Mr. Parsons _____
 - Mr. Rosen _____
 - Mr. Tamm _____
 - Mr. Nease _____
 - Mr. Winterrowd _____
 - Tele. Room _____
 - Mr. Holloman _____
 - Miss Gandy _____
- BAUMGARDNER**

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Dr. Wm. C. ...

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Segregation Foe Urges Tax Help

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 1 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) today urged a rally of Mississippi Citizens Councils to organize a gigantic offensive to overturn what he called the "monstrous crime" committed by the U. S. Supreme Court when it outlawed racial segregation. Southern states must join hands in a regional commission to present the South's viewpoint and the organization should be

financed with public funds, he said. "There can be no outcome but total and complete victory," Mississippi's senior Senator said in a speech at a state-wide Citizens Council meeting here. The councils are groups dedicated to keeping racial segregation in all walks of life. They claim about 70,000 members in Mississippi, where the first council was organized.

Eastland said the "judicial tyranny" of the Supreme Court can be defeated by an aroused and organized South.

The Senator urged council members to avoid violence.

Louisiana Upheld In Using State Funds

BATON ROUGE, La., Dec. 1 (AP)—A state district judge upheld today Louisiana's right to spend \$100,000 to fight school integration.

Judge Coleman Lindsey upheld the state's motion in dismissing the suit brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the \$100,000 fund.

The NAACP had challenged the fund voted by the Board of Liquidation of State Debt and approved by the Legislature.

Segregation Ordered In Kentucky Suit

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 1 (AP)—The first suit seeking an end to segregation in Kentucky's public schools ended today in favor of Negro pupils in Adair County.

Federal District Judge Mac Swinford ruled the county must, "at the earliest practicable date" comply with the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

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- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Sizoo _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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- The Worker _____
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- Mr. Parsons
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- Wash. Star
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- N. Y. Mirror
- N. Y. Daily News
- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

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Council Members Urge South-Wide Segregation Group

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland, speaking before the first statewide assembly of the Mississippi Citizens' Councils here Thursday, recommended that the South-

ADDRESS IN FULL

Senator Eastland's address before the Citizens' Councils meeting in Jackson Thursday is printed in full on Pages 4, 5 and 6, Section 2.

He declared that the political

leaders of the nation are insincere in their efforts to obtain desegregation.

"Even President Eisenhower, despite his advocacy of integration of the races, is sending his own grandchildren to an all-white Episcopal school in Alexandria, Va., Eastland declared.

"The politicians from the President down want integration for the other fellow, but not for themselves," Eastland declared.

He spoke to some 3,000 people seated in the Municipal Auditorium here, paying tribute to the Citizens' Councils for efforts to solve the race question sanely and legally.

"We have nothing to be ashamed of in our efforts to maintain the integrity of the white race," he declared. "We must expose the NAACP as a tool of Communism and the Negro as the pawn."

Congressman John Bell Williams, of Raymond, master of ceremonies, told the audience that "a marked change is being seen in the attitude of many people in other sections as they learn the truth about de-segregation."

He said that he is proud to be a member of the Mississippi Citizens Council, and that there will soon be a million members in the South.

Senator John Stennis and Congressmen Colmer, Whitten, Abernethy, Winstead and Smith telegraphed greetings and support to the council rally. Gov. Hugh White and Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin were present and Gov. - elect J. P. Coleman sent regrets that illness prevented his presence.

Another speaker, Prof. W. M. Caskey, of Mississippi College, told the Council membership that he could not go along with Adlai Stevenson as the Democratic candi-

son will be found in the NAACP camp," Caskey said.

He said that he believes the Councils will solve the problem of warding off integration.

Caskey also attacked teachers who are "brainwashing" students and said that so long as Dr. D. M. Nelson is president of Mississippi

College, a Baptists institution, there will be no "pink" teachings there.

The Council on recommendation of John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi State Bar, adopted a six-point resolution calling for:

1. Prohibition of common-law marriages by statute.
2. Repeal of the compulsory school attendance law.
3. Provide penalties for barratry, maintenance and champerty, unauthorized practice of law and agitation of court suits to end segregation.
4. Provide penalties for persons interfering with state law under color of federal authority.
5. Provide penalties for abusive and obscene telephone calls and defaming and provide penalties for criminal libel.
6. Creation of a state authority for the maintenance of segregation.

These recommendations were announced as part of the program of the incoming Gov. J. P. Coleman.

Mayor Allen C. Thompson issued a welcome to the Citizens' Council membership, stating that he is himself a member and proud of it.

No other members of the Congressional delegation were present, but all wired their regrets, giving reasons for their absence. Each announced himself heartedly in accord with the purposes of the Citizens' Councils.

Gov. Hugh L. White, Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin and House Speaker Walter Sillers, along with approximately 75 members of the new legislature were in attendance at the meeting. Ex-Gov. Fielding L. Wright was also a prominent attendant.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
C. F. W. ...*

Ellis W. Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens' Council opened the meeting as the head of the host Council.

The full text of Senator Eastland's hour and 15-minute speech is given inside.

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Councils

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date for president, and that Sen. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, is "misrepresenting the South."

He charged that the South is not united in Congress and that the Mississippi delegation is the only group that stands solidly for segregation.

"When the chips are down, Ste-

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Eastland Urges Fight For Segregation

Calls On South To Carry Message To Rest Of U. S.

By SAM JOHNSON

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) today urged a rally of Citizens Council members to organize a gigantic offensive to overturn what he called the "monstrous crime" committed by the U. S. Supreme Court when it outlawed racial segregation. Southern states must join hands in a regional commission to present the South's viewpoint, and the organization should be financed with public funds, he said. "There can be no outcome but total and complete victory," Mississippi's senior senator said in a speech in Jackson Municipal Auditorium.

The Councils are groups dedicated to keeping racial segregation in all walks of life. They claim about 70,000 members in Mississippi, where the first Council was organized.

Eastland said the "judicial tyranny" of the Supreme Court can be defeated by an aroused and organized South.

Must Take Offense

Defensive action "is the road to destruction and death," said Eastland. "We must take the offense. We must carry the message to every section of the United States."

"Our position is righteous. The great majority of the rank and

APPROVE PROPOSAL

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—The Citizens Council rally approved today a proposal to form an organization stretching across the South to fight what Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) called the "monstrous crime" committed by the U. S. Supreme Court when it outlawed racial segregation.

file of the people of the North believe exactly as we do. The law of nature is on our side," Eastland told a crowd of about 2,500.

The crowd, estimated by a police officer, fell far below the hoped-for 10,000 and left about 1,000 empty seats in the auditorium.

Sen. Eastland was introduced by Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.).

He said "the drive for racial amalgamation is both illegal and immoral, and those who would mix little children of both races in our

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EASTLAND—

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schools are following an illegal, immoral and sinful doctrine."

The senator urged Council members to avoid violence.

"Violence and lawlessness will hurt this organization," he said. "These acts are turned against us by our enemies. They are effectively used to mould public sentiment against us in the North."

The South must get public opinion on its side, he said.

"It is the responsibility of the organization also to do all it can to prevent violence and to prevent the mistreatment of any man," Eastland declared. "The fight we wage must be a just and legal fight."

He said Mississippi has a better record of law enforcement than the Northern states which criticize Mississippi. "Our state enforces the law without favor," he said.

Eastland's proposal for a regional commission to present the Southern viewpoint is similar to a proposal he made last year during his campaign for re-election.

"Public funds should be used," he said. "In fact, the use of public funds is the only way we can get the resources to answer the vast attack and to cope with the tremendous sums that are being used to misrepresent us and to inflame the public mind against us."

"We have nothing to be ashamed of. We mistreat no one. We are proud of our system."

"Why should we not advertise and explain it?" Eastland asked.

Southern states have a duty, as well as right, to use public funds in its campaign, he added.

The drive for integration "is an attack upon the sovereignty of the states . . ."

The senator said his colleagues in Congress from the South should unite "to fight upon the national scene."

"We should cooperate with the resistance and give leadership to Southern people."

Arkansas and Tennessee said Sen. Eastland, are faced with integration against the wishes of the majority of their citizens because the states failed to organize.

"Racial integration will occur in Arkansas, in Tennessee, or in any other state where through fear, weakness, inaction . . . there is no state policy to oppose it," he said.

Sen. Eastland complimented his home state of Mississippi and Virginia for moving to overturn the Supreme Court's decision on a state level.

"Mississippi led the way and furnished the example that others have emulated . . ." Eastland said.

To Council members, he said, "when history writes its final verdict on this present generation of Mississippians and Southerners, the names of you ladies and gentlemen . . . will have a very high place upon the roll of honor."

"In time of grave troubles, you have reacted in keeping with the finest and highest traditions of our state and region."

The present drive to integrate the races, said Eastland, is more dangerous than Civil War Reconstruction days.

"There was no attempt to have interracial schools during Reconstruction," he said.

The present drive, he added, "is more dangerous (because) the present court decisions are built upon gradualism; to induce us to agree or to force us to comply step by step."

"In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once. Our ancestors rallied and stopped it."

"Its weakness then was that they attempted to enforce it all at once. It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism."

COUNCILS APPROVE 6-POINT PROGRAM

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — The first statewide rally of Citizens Councils today approved a six-point program to help keep segregation in Mississippi.

The recommendation, presented by John C. Satterfield, president of the Mississippi State Bar, are essentially the same as Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman urged the Legal Educational Advisory Committee to adopt.

The program includes:

1. Prohibition of common-law marriages.
2. Repeal of compulsory school attendance law.
3. Provide penalties for barratry, maintenance and champerty, unauthorized practice of law and agitation of court suits to end segregation.
4. Provide penalties for persons interfering with state law under color of federal authority.
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Eastland Calls For Overturn Of 'Court Crime'

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Defensive action "is the road to destruction and death," said Eastland. "We must take the offense. We must carry the message to every section of the United States.

"Our position is righteous. The great majority of the rank and file of the people of the North believe exactly as we do. The law of nature is on our side."

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64 JAN 1956

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Bullets and Ballot Boxes ... In Mississippi

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By JIM COOK

New York Post Correspondent

Belzoni, Miss., Dec. 1.—The official spokesman for Belzoni's white Citizens Council said blandly today his organization would not object if a Negro like Gus Courts voted here—"if he was qualified."

Citizens Councilman C. L. Puckett said it—and laughed.

He knew two Mississippi facts of life:

The way the state voting law is applied make it impossible for a Negro to cast a ballot in Belzoni. Even if that law wasn't on the books, almost all Negroes here would stay away from the polls—in fear of things like shotgun blasts in the night.

Puckett discussed the pro segregation doctrines of the Council as Courts, 65, the second Belzoni NAACP leader to be shotgunned after, agitating for the right to vote, made plans to return here

tomorrow from a Negro hospital in Mound Bayou, 75 miles to the north.

"We deplore the Courts shooting and any other violence," Puckett said, then pulled a Council membership card out of his wallet and read from it.

"Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility . . . and the preservation of states rights. And you can add—in a legal and orderly manner."

Puckett is a neat, bespectacled young tax consultant who speaks with a nervous affability. He had walked around the corner to meet the Post reporter in the office of Gladstone Mortimer, wealthy planter and farm implement dealer who is chairman of

the Belzoni Citizens Council.

They said 1,200 white men in Humphreys County belong to the Council. This is all but a handful of the adult white male population.

"Why would I want a two-bit nigger shot?—a mess like this hurts my business," said Mortimer. "A killing is the last thing in the world any of us Council leaders would want."

Then Mortimer tilted his hat

Continued on page 44

Continued from page 5

back and leaned forward in his chair. He is a big man and he looked very determined. He had made pleasantries a few minutes before, but there was no trace of good humor in his eyes now.

"But I'll give up my business and move if there is ever any integration here," he said.

Puckett blandly explained that the Council "really doesn't have to have an official policy on nigravoting because there are no qualified nigravoters here." The state law makes certain of that.

The law, which went into effect last January, requires that any voter must be able to interpret any part of the Mississippi Constitution. The interpretation must be in writing and it must satisfy election officials of both the county and state.

"I don't know of any nigras that have passed that part of the requirement," Puckett laughed.

Have any white people ever failed it?

"Yes," he said, "but I can't think of their names off-hand."

A considerable number of Negroes had become legally qualified as Mississippi voters in 1954 following talk by Negroes of taking federal action. The new law takes care of that. One provision makes all the 1954 registrations invalid.

Must Register Again

Those 1954 registrants may now reregister if they pass the qualification test. Whites pass it. Negroes do not.

Humphreys County's population is 70 per cent Negro, but no Negro has used a ballot box here since the 1870s.

Puckett and Mortimer spoke of Belzoni with pride and invited Northerners to visit Humphreys County.

Humphreys County, although not by any means a typical county of the South, is typical of the Mississippi delta county. At its highway entrances are overhead signs decorated with a heart. "Heart of Delta"—that's what they call Belzoni.

The Mayor of Belzoni—a planter, cotton buyer and Citizens Council leader named Gerner Shannon—estimated today that more than 90 per cent of the people in this town of 4,000 "make their living off of cotton."

\$3 a Day for Workers

The able-bodied Negroes among the 4,000 (about 1,800 Negroes, Mayor Shannon estimated) work in the cotton fields about five months during the year. During cotton-cropping time in the summer they can earn up to \$3 a day. During cotton-picking time in the fall they are paid up to \$3 for each 100 pounds of cotton they pick.

The best pickers, some planters say, make from \$6 to \$10 a day. Some planters complain that Negroes have jacked up the price by refusing to pick for less.

There is not as much sharecropping as there used to be in the delta. The Mayor guessed that at least half of the cotton harvested in Humphreys County this year was grown on five big plantations by hired hands. Those plantations range in size from 2,000 to 4,000 acres.

The big plantations employ workers by the day. When there is no work, there is no pay. Assuming a by-the-day farm laborer works for \$3 a day, he might make as much as \$384 during the year.

Many Negroes (and a smaller number of whites) still work "on shares" just as in the old days. This is done on a 50-50 basis.

One planter cited his arrangement with a Negro family as an illustration.

The family of Negroes, which had five or six members old enough to work in the fields, lived on 14 acres of cotton land. During the year between har-

vests the planter gave the head of the family "about \$35 a month as furnish money." This money was to keep the family in food and clothing until the crop was sold.

Fourteen bales of cotton were picked from 14 acres, said the planter, and those were sold for \$150 each; this brought in \$2,100. By halving this, the Negro received \$1,050 for his family work during the year.

When a Negro man marries a wife who is not fertile, his income naturally drops. A man and his wife, if they have no children, can effectively work no more than six acres.

This means that the couple's income will be about \$450 a year—assuming the weather is good and the boll weevils don't get at their crop.

A visit to the Mayor's office uncovered the fact that not all the white citizens of Humphreys County join in the invitation of Puckett and Mortimer to Northerners to visit this particular part of the country.

A Different Attitude

An elderly planter named J. A. Patridge expressed a different attitude while chatting with the Post reporter at the office of Mayor Shannon.

"These white Northerners that come down here poking their nose around—one'll be thrown in the river some of these days," he said.

The Post reporter tried to laugh engagingly, hoping he meant it as a joke.

"I'd rather throw some of them in the river than some niggers I know," said another planter who had accompanied Patridge to Shannon's office to get some cotton samples judged for value.

The Mayor heard these sentiments and voiced no disagreement.

The Mayor is a sandy-haired, ruggedly handsome man of about 40 who has lived in Belzoni since his family moved down from Memphis in 1931.

Patridge, who said he "never saw the inside of a school till I was 22" was a Baptist preacher as well as planter for 30 years or so until his health declined recently.

"There's nothing we want to do for a good nigger," Mayor Shannon said. "If they thought they could do better, they could leave. There's no fence around here. There's no chains on anybody."

The Mayor and the two planters advanced opinions that an educated Negro wouldn't want to go to school with whites, that most Negroes' morals were bad, and that Gus Courts likely was shot by Negro agitators who wanted to end segregation.

They agreed on this definition of a "good nigger."

"One you can trust, one who'll do what you tell him to do, one who'll stick out his contract to do his work, one who has at least average principles morally and won't live with a woman unless she's his wife, and one who doesn't have the idea of sending his children to school with white children."

"A nigger is a nigger and that's what he'll always be," Patridge said emphatically. "You can't make a white man out of a nigger any more than you can make a nigger out of a white man."

Humphreys County has two small towns in addition to Belzoni—Isola and Louise. Each town has a few comfortable looking houses and a great many shanties. These towns are surrounded by thousands of acres of flat, rich delta land.

The shacks out on the land are lopsided, tin-roofed structures of rain-grayed wood and tarpaper falsified to look like brick. The houses are far apart. They look like little square piles of debris left by some natural disaster such as a flood or windstorm, but they are houses.

LETTER MAY END BOYCOTT, BELIEF

Brewing Firm Clears Up Contribution to NAACP

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 30 (AP) —

A citizens council official said Wednesday a letter from the Falstaff Brewing Co. probably will end what he called a scattered boycott of Falstaff beer in Mississippi.

Ellis W. Wright, president of the Jackson citizens council, said the St. Louis Brewing firm officials "now have repudiated the NAACP."

He quoted from a letter which he said was written by Joseph Griesedieck, Falstaff president, denying membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Falstaff sales in Mississippi during recent weeks dropped, said Wright, after the White Sentinel, a pro-segregation pamphlet published in St. Louis, said Falstaff contributed to the NAACP and was a member.

At the news conference he called Wednesday, Wright said citizens councils organizations formed to help keep segregation, did not advocate or promote the alleged boycott.

The letter read to newsmen by Wright, a Jackson funeral director said: "Falstaff, on the appeal of one of its Negro salesmen, made a contribution to the NAACP as membership for the Negro. This was the first and only contribution. In error, apparently that membership was issued in the name of Falstaff Brewing Corp."

Wright said Griesedieck's letter explained that his firm does

not take part in controversial organizations.

"They (Falstaff) were hurt considerably by the publicity they got," said Wright.

In St. Louis Griesedieck said Falstaff sent a \$500 contribution to NAACP April 21, 1954, for a membership for the Negro salesman at his request.

"When Falstaff management learned that the membership in NAACP had been listed in the name of Falstaff Brewing Corp., the NAACP was directed to remove the corporation's name from its rolls," Griesedieck said.

He conceded some sales resistance to Falstaff had developed in Mississippi recently after word on the contribution was circulated but said it was impossible at this time to determine the extent of the effect on Falstaff sales.

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(EASTLAND)

JACKSON, MISS--SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND PROPOSED THAT SOUTHERN STATES USE TAX MONEY TO FINANCE A FIGHT AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT'S SCHOOL SEGREGATION RULING WHICH HE CALLED "A MONSTROUS CRIME."

THE MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT MADE THE SUGGESTION IN AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR A MASS MEETING OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS, AN ORGANIZATION ESTABLISHED TO OPPOSE INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

EASTLAND URGED THAT A SOUTHWIDE COMMISSION, FINANCED BY TAX DOLLARS, BE ESTABLISHED TO PUBLICIZE THE VIEWS OF THOSE OPPOSING RACIAL INTEGRATION.

EASTLAND SAID THE SOUTHERN STATES "HAVE NOT ONLY THE RIGHT BUT THE LEGAL DUTY TO SET UP THIS COMMISSION AND TO FINANCE ITS ACTIVITIES WITH PUBLIC FUNDS.

SUCH AN ORGANIZATION, HE SAID, "IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN GET THE RESOURCES TO ANSWER THE VAST ATTACK AND TO COPE WITH THE TREMENDOUS SUMS THAT ARE BEING USED TO INFAMATE THE PUBLIC MIND AGAINST US."

"A CONCERTED ATTEMPT," HE SAID, "IS BEING MADE TO SUPPRESS THE TRUTH OF WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL SYSTEM. BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE TEACHERS ADMIT THERE IS A DEFINITE LOWERING OF STANDARDS IN THE INTEGRATED SCHOOLS. THE WHITE CHILDREN ARE BEING PULLED DOWN TO THE INTELLIGENCE LEVEL OF THE NEGROES."

EASTLAND WAS CHEERED 63 TIMES DURING HIS TALK.

THE TWO-HOUR MEETING BROKE UP AFTER THE DELEGATES UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED A RESOLUTION FAVORING EASTLAND'S PLAN FOR A TAX-SUPPORTED COMMISSION AND ENDORSING MISSISSIPPI'S PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR MAINTAINING SEGREGATION.

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- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

Editor Fights Klan

Carter Wars on WCC's Economic Noose on South

(Fifth and last article of a series)

By JAMES DESMOND

GREENVILLE, Miss., Nov. 25.—Secrecy is the secret weapon of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi, the new klan that enforces thought control by economic terrorism.

Because all important decisions are made at private committee meetings, behind closed doors—and passed along to the membership by word of mouth rather than public announcements—the WCC has been able to create a climate of fear in which its opponents have been unable to organize.

As a consequence, the voices that speak out against the economic Kluxism of the WCC are scattered and, up to now, largely ineffectual.

But the opposition is widespread and as the late preach-

ments of Judge Tom P. Brady, the principal ideologist of the WCC, continue to offend thoughtful Mississippians it is rising in strength.

So far the opposition hasn't found a rallying point. But it has

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- N. Y. Daily News
- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

New York Herald

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Editor Leads War

Against Kluxers

(Continued from page 2)

found its most articulate spokesman in Hodding Carter, editor-owner of the Delta Democrat Times, published here in Greenville.

SEES THE DANGER, DAMNED FOR IT

Carter, who has been called the social conscience of the New South, was one of the first to detect the thought control tendency of the WCC and to see that Southern life was being stifled by the narrow bigotry of a movement guided by the ideology concocted by Judge Brady.

For his perspicacity, Carter has been damned as a liar by an 89-to-6 vote of the State House of Representatives. (He retorted, "I herewith resolve by a vote of 1-0 that there are 89 liars in the State Legislature, beginning with Speaker (Walter) Sillers.") And determined efforts have been made to cut into the circulation and advertising of his newspaper.

He shows no signs of giving up. So far, he says, he has been more than able to counterbalance losses and his circulation, fluctuating 50 to 100 copies one way or the other from week to week, has remained stable at about 12,500.

EDITOR STEPS UP HIS CAMPAIGN

His attack on the White Citizens Councils which he first published in an article in Look magazine last Spring has, meanwhile, sharpened. In his newspaper, the Delta Democrat Times, he is using front page editorials to slam at the economic sanctions of the WCC.

"We are not talking about one or two incidents," said one editorial. "This is a planned campaign entered upon by men whose behavior in this regard makes them blood-brothers of the Capone mob.

Merchants, professional men

and distributors have been approached. Some have already felt the lash.

"These 'protection sellers' make no bones about it. In some cases they tell their targets that unless they organize or join the Councils, they'll get no more business from Council members."

For a while, Carter's offensive was effective. It took the White Citizens Councils 11 months to organize Greenville—and even when it was organized the first three leading citizens approached spurned the chairmanship—but the WCC is now in the saddle here.

It has enlisted most of the merchants, lawyers, bankers and doctors, including Catholics and Jews who might be expected to oppose the movement, and it has been successful in putting the squeeze on a number of Negroes, including a Negro doctor whose patients are being warned against him.

Yet Carter is no desegregationist. Like most Mississippians who deplore the White Citizens Councils, he is dedicated to finding a "middleground" between the outright desegregation ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, and the present system of rigid segregation so the state can have time to adjust to the new situation being brought about by its changing economy.

CHANGING TIMES; NEW REQUIREMENTS

For Mississippi is changing. The shrinkage of the world cotton market and the acreage limitations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture already have doomed the old plantation economy in which, tradition says, the gracious, cultured Southerner gave a kind of cradle-to-grave security to his Negroes.

In its place is rising a new industrialization. But industry requires skilled labor, or a reserve of labor that can be trained for its purpose. At present, Mississippi has no such reserve, partly because nearly all its schools and, of course, particularly its Negro schools, give little more than the bare rudiments of an education. Some industries have overcome

this handicap in finding workers.

But it is the fear of forward-looking Mississippians that other industry may be frightened away from the state because of the rising race tensions stirred up by the mere existence of the White Citizens Councils.

The question is what can be done about the new Kluxism. One thing is certain: with its more than 65,000 members pouring dues at a rate in excess of \$300,000 a year, the economic Klan isn't going to be easily overcome.

One suggestion that has gained wide support in an appeal to U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell to put the White Citizens Councils on the subversive list as a conspiracy to deprive American citizens of the right to earn their livings.

Such action, it is argued, would put the WCC on a par with the Communists whom it opposes so bitterly and might cause the members to reconsider whether they want to be connected with a subversive organization.

Furthermore, a subversive listing of the WCC would have practical effect in restricting the membership of would-be officeholders and applicants for defense plant jobs, when and if

Mississippi gets more defense plants.

But against this, as the realists point out, is the fact that Brownell is already anathema to the Brady-type White Citizens Councils members because Brownell argued the case for segregation in the U. S. Supreme Court.

A second objection raised is that branding the WCC subversive might simply drive it underground, ending the "open" activity of its public meetings, and give the "worst" elements a chance to resort to violence behind the screen of total secrecy.

Regardless of the merits of these arguments, it is apparent that the White Citizens Councils, if allowed to continue to grow unchecked, are bound to raise the spectre of devastating racial conflict in the South.

JUSTICE ALREADY SHOWS TAIN

Already, the Justice of Mississippi has been tainted by the climate of fear and hate that has developed out of WCC propaganda.

In the Lexington, Miss., libel suit over the shooting of a Negro boy by Sheriff Richard Byrd, of Holmes County, the state's highest court, by reversing the jury verdict, acknowledged tacitly that no critic of white brutality toward Negroes could get a fair trial in a community dominated by the White Citizens Councils.

And in the "wolf whistle" kidnaping and murder of Emmett Louis Till, the 14-year-old Chicago Negro, from his granduncle's home in Money, Miss., there never was a chance, considering the climate of the times, that the men accused of the crime would be convicted.

The acquittal of J. W. Milam, 36, and his half-brother, Roy Bryant, 24, of the Till murder was accurately forecast by the press even before they went on trial in the Tallahatchie County Courthouse in Sumner last September.

DEFAULT OF JUSTICE CAUSES NO SURPRISE

Nor was there any surprise among Mississippians when the grand jury in Leflore County, where Money is located, refused a couple of weeks ago to indict Milam and Bryant on a kidnaping charge that had been referred to it by Judge Curtis B. Swango after the murder trial.

For the feeling in Greenwood, county seat of Leflore County, was running high against "outside" interference, and that temper was fanned by the pronouncements of the White Citizens Councils through its mouthpiece, Judge Brady.

Yet the general feeling through-

out Mississippi appears to be that justice was sidetracked both in the Sumner murder trial and by the grand jury in Greenwood because of the climate of hate that has developed along with the White Citizens Councils.

But the very people who most deeply deplore these stains that the WCC-type thinking has stamped on Mississippi justice are bound by their own moderation in trying to organize an effective counteraction.

FEAR AND HATRED HIS STOCK IN TRADE

They talk about seeking federal action while at the same time they acknowledge that this would only again affront those Mississippians who have flocked so eagerly to the WCC. And they have no weapon to counter the hyperbole of the White Citizens Councils' Judge Brady.

For Brady has activated a deep-seated Southern fear by his constant harping on the charge that desegregation of the public schools is but the first step toward racial intermarriage in the South.

And intermarriage can lead only to the destruction of our civilization as Brady preaches the doctrine.

"The mark of the beast," he says, "is apparent today in the various types in Mexico, the Yucatan Indians, the Hondurans, the North Central Americans and Caribs. The Proto-Negro sign with its accompanying destruction cannot be disputed. The same contamination and retrogression is apparent in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Cuba and wherever in the Western hemisphere the infusion of white and Negro blood has taken place.

DOOM OF WHITES HIS STEADY THEME

"Whenever and wherever the white man has drunk the cup of black hemlock, whenever and wherever his blood has been infused with the blood of the Negro, the white man, his intellect and his culture have died."

By dint of repetition, Brady has made this statement the theme of the White Citizens Councils and somehow managed to build up a belief that all who oppose the WCC are bent on intermingling of the races.

As a consequence many sincere believers in improving the condition of the Negro in Mississippi within the accepted mores of segregation find themselves thought-controlled to silence when they try to speak out against the methods of the White Citizens Councils.

And the new economic Klan strides forward, imposing ever stricter conformity on the free people of Mississippi.

THE MARK OF THE BEAST

The mark of the Beast is apparent today, even to the most casual observer, in the various types in Mexico the Yucatan Indians, the Hondurans, the North Central Americans, and Caribs. The Proto-Negro sign with its accompanying destruction cannot be disputed. The same contamination and retrogression is apparent in Puerto Rico - Guatemala, Cuba and wherever in the Western hemisphere the infusion of white and negro blood has taken place.

Another excerpt from the anti-Negro "Black Monday."



Sheriff Richard Byrd, right, fared well with a Mississippi jury in a libel suit arising from his shooting of a Negro boy. Left, Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, Mississippi editor, whom the sheriff sued for libel. High court upset \$10,000 Award



The late Emmett Till
Victim of Mississippi "justice"

A Mississippi jury acquitted Roy Bryant, left, and his half-brother J. W. Milam, of the Till boy's murder. Kidnaping charges were later dismissed.

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- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Harbo
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- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Sizoo
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- Tele. Room
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- Miss Gandy

WCC Fosters Anti-Negro Laws

(Fourth article in a series)
By JAMES DESMOND

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 24.—The White Citizens Councils of Mississippi—the new Klan that enforces thought control by economic pressures—claims sole credit for the passage of two amendments to the state constitution in the first six months of the WCC's life.

The amendments provide for: (1) Raising the minimum qualifications for voters so it will be easier for local election boards to disfranchise Negroes, and (2) empowering the State Legislature to abolish the public schools "as a last resort in order to prevent racial integration in these schools."

The claim to sole credit, or discredit as the case may be, is officially put forward by Robert B. (Tut) Patterson, executive secretary and one of the founders, in the first annual report of the White Citizens Council.

The claim may be exaggerated although it is a fact that the voting amendment was defeated in 1952 before the WCC came into being, but the fact that it could be seriously advanced is

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New Klan Fosters Anti-Negro

Laws

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measure of how far the White Citizens Councils have come in less than a year and a half.

And this giant stride—the WCC has grown from a handful of men to 300 councils with over 60,000 members paying more than \$300,000 a year in dues in Mississippi alone—has put the WCC into politics on an important scale, no matter the ready protestations of its leaders that the movement is “non-political.”

On the local level, the WCC already has succeeded in electing several of its leaders to the State House of Representatives (how many, precisely, it is impossible to check until the Legislature convenes). And on the local level, also, it works closely with sheriffs, who are the county political bosses, in enforcing segregation.

And, although the WCC has no copyright on the Mississippi determination to preserve segregation, it is a fact that in last summer's bitterly-fought Democratic primaries (tantamount to election, here) all five candidates, including Attorney General J. P. Coleman, who won the run-off and is now Governor-elect, took strong pro-segregation positions.

Influence Question

Is a Moot Point

So the question whether the WCC influenced the election is, as the lawyers say, moot.

But there's nothing moot about the fact that Judge Tom P. Brady (rhymes with caddy), the ideologist and chief orator of the White Citizens Councils, has been preaching third party, not only in Mississippi but in surrounding states, ever since the WCC was founded.

Brady tells his audiences, as he wrote in his book, “Black Monday,” that white Southerners can't support either the Republican or Democratic Parties as they are presently constituted. He wants an all-South bloc either

to go it alone or pressure the major parties.

Brady's big pitch is that miscegenation is the goal of all segregationists and he customarily warms up his audiences by telling them:

“The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this terrestrial ball is a well-bred, cultured, Southern white woman or her blue-eyed, gold-haired little girl.”

Warns on Overtures For the Negro Vote

But he goes on to warn that the Republican and Democratic parties are angling for the “three-million bloc-voting Negroes of the North and East and of California” and will make concessions to woo their support.

“Let's get one thing unmistakably clear,” Brady says. “These Northern Negroes are determined to mongrelize America. They want the race to ‘pass.’ The Soviet Union could not be adverse to such. In fact it would be for Russia quite a victory for Communism. . . . The Negro proposes to breed up his inferior intelligence and whiten his skin and ‘blow out the light’ in the white man's brain and muddy his skin.”

Brady blames the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations equally for contributing to what he says is the Communist-ori-

ented drive for intermarriage of the races because both Administrations relaxed segregation in the armed forces.

In these circumstances, Brady says, the 17 Southern states must federate in a regional organization, to be joined by like-minded people in other states throughout the Union, to exert pressure on Congress.

"Needless to say in these state organizations prohibitions relating to membership can be strictly drawn and these prohibitions need not relate only to race or color," Brady proclaims.

But the core of his proposed political organization is the Southern states, which would undertake to throw solid support to everything tended to strengthen and sustain segregation.

And the White Citizens Councils, by virtue of their numbers, were an important factor when just such a Southern bloc, calling itself the Federation for Consti-

tutional Government, was organized in New Orleans late in October.

The federation has a strong Dixiecrat tinge. It is headed up by John U. Barr, the New Orleans industrialist who commands tremendous wealth, and its advisory committee sounds like a rolloccall of a Dixiecrat convention.

On the list, for example, are Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and ex-Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who were the Dixiecrat candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, in 1948.

Among the other advisers are Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who has a rather avuncular relationship with the White Councils; former Govs. Sam H. Jones of Louisiana and Coke Stevenson of Texas, and Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D-La.).

This group is admittedly a "State's rights" organization and while the chairman, Barr, denies that it is actually a third party movement, that isn't important at the moment so far as the White Citizens Councils is concerned.

What is important is that by formally allying with the state's rights movement, the White Councils have served notice on Mississippi politicians and aspiring officeholders that they are big enough now to be reckoned with at the polls.

This assertion of political power is peculiarly important in semi-feudal Mississippi where authority stems from the big planters, leading bankers and industrialists, and topflight politicians, in that order.

The mere fact that nothing is being done on the top level to curb the WCC indicates to the poor whites that the organization has the benevolent blessing of the true leaders of Mississippi.

It is this belief that has been blamed for the rise in violence throughout the state. Bullies and thugs, seeing their local community leaders sponsoring a militant organization to keep down the Negro, are finding license in the propaganda of the WCC to avenge themselves on Negroes for real and fancied slights, according to progressive Mississippians who have studied the problem.

Rising Tension Is Unmistakable

For while there is little evidence of a "reign of terror" as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged after the murder of Emmett Till last August, there are unmistakable signs of rising tension.

Item: In Greenville, Miss., a clean-cut, well-educated Negro bellhop reported that his family was keeping a gun at home for the first time in his life. "We've

got to be ready to protect ourselves," he said.

Item: This reporter, who kept a white cab driver waiting outside the home of a Negro doctor for an hour, was called a "nigger lover"—the ultimate lower-class Mississippi insult—as the hackie drove off after collecting his fare and the tip.

Item: In Jackson, Negro cab drivers almost ostentatiously ignore the hails of white men trying to flag them down in Negro sections. White drivers have to be summoned by phone.

Talk to Reporter Made in Secrecy

Item: Two white men, making a date to meet this reporter, refused to call at his hotel. They insisted on a street corner meeting and drove around for an hour while talking over the situation. The explanation was that they would only be stirring up trouble for themselves by being seen talking to him.

These incidents simply point up the climate of tension and fear that has followed the White Citizens Councils, county by county and town by town, as they have expanded through Mississippi.

It Was Get Out Or Go Bankrupt

Let Dr. Emmett J. Stringer, of Columbus, president of the State NAACP, who is himself a victim of a credit freeze in his home community, tell a story.

"We had a branch president," he says, "a merchant who had to give up. A group of white men drove up to his store and told him to get in the car. He did and they took him to his bank and there were the banker, his wholesaler and other people who gave him credit. They told him they would give him no more credit.

"He had to give up, go bankrupt or get out."
Or take the case of Dr. Clinton

Battle, in Indianola, where the WCC was born. In 1954, Battle registered to vote,— the first Negro to try it in Sunflower County—and tried to get his fellow Negroes to do likewise.

The consequences: Battle's patients were told by their white bosses that he was a dangerous man and his practice has been shrinking so swiftly that it is questionable whether he can stay in Mississippi. One result: Dr. Battle stopped trying to get out a Negro vote and didn't even try to vote himself this year.

Then there was T. V. Johnson, an undertaker in Belzoni, who joined the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, which is fighting for desegregation. He was warned not to accept the chairmanship of the Negro Boy Scouts under threats that he would be stripped of credit and possibly run out of town.

Pressure on Whites Is More Subtle

The pressure against whites is more subtle. The outstanding case, of course, was the mass meeting in Holmes County ordering Dr. David R. Minter and A. E. Cox, his partner in a cooperative farm, to get out of town.

But white clerks have been fired for questioning the wisdom of the WCC and the early rash of letters to the editor that appeared in Mississippi newspapers denouncing the klannishness of the White Citizens Councils has all but disappeared.

All of which seems to indicate that the White Citizens Councils have now achieved a position of power so great that they can be stopped only by a major upheaval in Mississippi thinking.

(Through the climate of fear in which the WCC thrives, opposition voices are rising. Subject of tomorrow's fifth and last article of this series).



John U. Barr Sen. J. Strom Thurmond Ex-Gov. Fielding Wright
Dixiecrats who lead the segregation-minded Federation for Constitutional Government.



Rep. F. Edward Hebert Sen. James O. Eastland Ex-Gov. Sam H. Jones Ex-Gov. Coke Stevenson
Other leaders of the federation, which has strong connections with the White Citizens Councils.

The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures,
 the nearest thing to an anglic being that treads this
 terrestrial ball is a well-bred, cultured Southern white
 woman, or her blue-eyed golden haired little girl.

The maintenance of peaceful and harmonious re

A typical excerpt from the anti-Negro book, "Black Monday."

Judge Spiels Kluxer Line

(Third article of a series)

By JAMES DESMOND

BELZONI, Miss., Nov. 23.—The ideological godfather of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi is Tom P. Brady, a circuit judge who preaches the old Ku Klux Klan white-supremacy line, starting from the premise that enslavement conferred upon the Negro "the greatest benefit one man ever conferred upon another."

Judge Brady invariably goes on to explain to the audiences he addresses nightly:

"The American Negro was divorced from Africa and saved from savagery. In spite of his basic inferiority he was forced to do that which he would not do for himself. He was compelled to lay aside cannibalism, his barbaric, savage cus-

toms. He was transported from aboriginal ignorance and superstition.

DON'T MISUNDERSTAND, HE 'LOVES' NEGROES

"A moral standard of values was presented to him, a standard

he could never have created for himself and which he does not now appreciate."

But don't get Brady (he pronounces it to rhyme with "caddy") wrong; he "loves" Negroes, "good" Negroes that is. "We will give the Negro in good conscience all that he is justly entitled to and what we in good

(Continued on page 8 col. 1)

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. Boardman ✓
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Belmont ✓
- Mr. Harbo ✓
- Mr. Mohr ✓
- Mr. Parsons ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tamm ✓
- Mr. Sizoo ✓
- Mr. Winterrowd ✓
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

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- The Worker
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(Continued from page 3)

conscience can afford," he is fond of saying.

And, as soon as he has said that, Brady follows up with a little more explanation of his conception of the Negro's place in Mississippi society.

"The purpose of this comparison," he will say, "is not to embarrass or humiliate anyone—but you can dress a chimpanzee, house-break him, and teach him to use a knife and fork, but it will take countless generations of evolutionary development, if ever, before you can convince him that a caterpillar or a cockroach is not a delicacy. Likewise the social, political, economic and religious preferences of the Negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach."

SPEECH IMPLIES THE KLAN LABEL

It is this speech by Brady, which he repeats over and over, nearly every night in the week—that has stamped the label of kluxer thinking on the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

For, so far as the WCC has a philosophy, Brady is its philosopher; so far as the movement boasts a spokesman, he is the mouthpiece.

He is also one of the chief reasons why thoughtful Mississippians both in and out of the movement, deeply fear that the already half-secret White Citizens Councils are drifting toward naked klanism and the violence it implies.

For Brady continually skirts a call to violence in his nightly address. His most solemn warning is that the North may try "through force of arms" to impose desegregation.

"If that happens then it will take an army of 100 million men to compel it," he says. "We have, through our forefathers, died before for our sacred principles. We can if necessary die again. You shall not show us how a white

man go through the guts' of a Negro! You shall not mongrelize our children and grandchildren!"

STARTED EARLY ON HIS 'CAUSE'

Brady came into the White Citizens Councils as a full-blown white supremacist already embarked on his course before the WCC was born.

Before May 17, 1954, when the



Sen. James O. Eastland is lukewarm to the WCC.

U. S. Supreme Court handed down its decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, Brady, a vice president of the Mississippi Bar Association, was a 14th Mississippi Circuit Court judge, living in Brookhaven and traveling his circuit in comparative obscurity. Politically, he was at a dead end.

The Supreme Court ruling changed all that. A few days after the decision, Brady made his first white supremacy speech of record before the Greenwood Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, and a new career opened to him.

He quickly expanded the speech into a 101-page, paperbound book and by the time the White Citizens Councils began to fan out from Indianola, where it was born, the book was on the printing presses.

'BLACK MONDAY' MOVEMENT'S BIBLE

Called "Black Monday," which signifies the day of the Supreme Court desegregation decision, the book was adopted almost immediately as the unofficial Bible of the WCC. It was given initial distribution through the Councils and is now being plugged by the State Council, which rules the WCC, here and in surrounding states.

Many of Brady's ideas were taken over by the White Citizens Councils. They wrote into their constitution provision for economic boycotts of dissenters;

they set up political committees to "screen" candidates for public office on the white supremacy issue, and they are now drifting into Dixiecrat rallies that could become a third party movement.

Along with these ideas—Brady had many more: buying Lower California to set up a 49th State to which Negroes would be deported and starving out the Negroes and exporting them to the North are a couple of examples—Brady furnishes the WCC with plenty of targets for their hate.

NAACP IS FIRST ON BRADY'S LIST

First and foremost on his list is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which, Brady says, is trying to stage "a revolution in the bedroom" so that by intermarriage it can "mongrelize" America and



Judge Tom Brady preaching white-supremacy line.

turn it over to the Communists.

A close second is the Supreme Court. "The Supreme Court should be accorded all the deference and respect possible because of the nature of the office," Brady says. "It should be given at least the esteem accorded Pontius Pilate."

"Marxist Christians and ministers" who won't accept Brady's declaration that "God decreed segregation" come third, and Brady reserves special scorn for them.

He also inveighs against the CIO and flirts timidly with anti-Semitism (although he pays tribute to the purity of Jewish blood) by telling audiences, "It is lamentable that attention should be called to the alarming increase of Jewish names in the ranks of Communist front organizations." He then proceeds



Shaded area indicates Delta region.

The purpose of this comparison is not to embarrass or humiliate anyone—but you can dress a chimpanzee, house break him, and teach him to use a knife and fork, but it will take countless generations of evolutionary development, if ever, before you can convince him that a caterpillar or a cockroach is not a delicacy. Likewise, the social, political, economic, and religious preferences of the Negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach. This is not stated to ridicule or abuse the Negro. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with the caterpillar or the cockroach. It is merely a matter of taste. A cockroach or caterpillar remains proper food for a chimpanzee.

The Supreme Court should be accorded all the deference and respect possible because of the nature of the office. It should be given at least the esteem accorded Pontius Pilot. It should, however, be reminded that it is not infallible.

Excerpts from Brady's "Black Monday."

to enumerate the "Rosenbergs, Greenglasses or Alger Hisses (sic)."

Singularly enough, although the Roman Catholic Church is one of the most aggressive organizations fighting for desegregation and although the Bishop of Natchez has bitterly condemned the klanish aspect of the WCC, Brady doesn't mention Catholics.

HIGH-FLOWN SPEECHES BUT LITTLE APPLAUSE

In his nightly speeches, Brady hammers home his points by high-blown rhetoric and an authoritative tone, rather than eloquence. In fact, unlike hate preachers like Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith, he rarely stirs prolonged applause, although he gets sporadic outbursts. This is surprising in view of the fact that the Brady line usually stirs up fanatics to wild enthusiasm.

In a recent WCC meeting here in Belzoni, for example, there were only four bursts of applause in an hour-long oration to an audience of 450.

The meeting was typical of the "public" sessions of the WCC. The local chairman introduced Brady and the mouthpiece went into his speech. Afterwards he got thanks and it was over. There was neither opening prayer nor benediction—an extreme rarity in this part of the country which Brady proudly acclaims as the "Bible belt."

Brady is a solidly built man, standing about 5 feet 9, in his middle 50s. His dark hair and mustache are liberally streaked with gray and he is meticulously barbered and tailored, favoring clothes cut closer to the New York style than is usual down here.

Now he travels around with an

entourage of a dozen or so that almost inevitably includes Robert B. (Tut) Patterson, executive secretary, and W. J. Simmons, administrator, of the state WCC, and usually includes Congressman John Bell Williams, who coined the phrase, "Black Monday." (Brady tells audiences that Williams should be kept in Congress for life just for hitting on that happy title.)

Just how important Brady is in the WCC—even though it has adopted many of his ideas—is difficult to assess. Like Patterson and Simmons, he had no statewide reputation with the general public before he became the champion of white supremacy.

Even now, he is getting a mixed press. Except for the Jackson Daily News, whose editor Col. Frederick Sullens is an enthusiastic white supremacist (the paper has accepted a WCC award), the important papers in Mississippi largely ignore Brady's speeches, although of course he gets a play in weeklies in the towns where he speaks.

Patterson and Simmons, likewise, are getting little build-up from the press.

EVEN EASTLAND IS STAND OFFISH

In the meantime, there is no doubt that the big planters, really wealthy industrialists and bankers and the topflight politicians who run the state are keeping a careful eye on the White Citizens Councils—but not one has actively allied himself with the movement.

Even U. S. Sen. James O. Eastland, who has called for a white organization to fight for segregation, has given no more than a kindly nod to the WCC.

But the WCC is beyond its growing pains. It is now a valuable property, bringing in dues of \$300,000 a year or more and reaping other income from sale of its paper and the distribution of books and pamphlets.

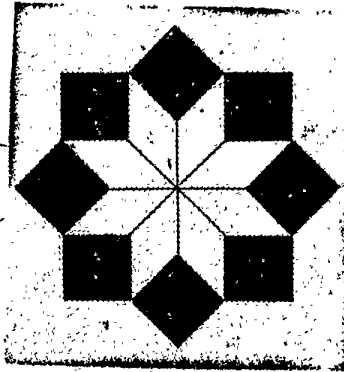
The top hierarchy of landowners, business, industry and politics may soon have to move in, if only to control the growing power of the White Citizens Councils.

When that move comes, Brady, Patterson and Simmons will be clearly expendable if the powers that be decide to shift the line of the movement. For none has established a loyal rank-and-file following to back up a fight if the top hierarchy gives the word to change the leadership.

THE BACK COVER

On the back of this cover is an optical illusion. Many geometric arrangements can be seen in it. The Communist front organizations of this country, the Marxian christians and educators and the left wing labor groups, would have us believe that thus is the Constitution of the United States, an instrument in which any socialistic or communistic concept can be found.

Our Constitution has been like Polaris, fixed and constant, a beacon to guide us through the shoals of Socialism, past the rocks of Communism and into the harbor of Democratic liberty and freedom. Let us not permit our Constitution to become all things to all men. We must never confuse Polaris, our Constitution, with a will-o-the-wisp, a drifting buoy, or St. Elmo's fire which will cause our Ship of State to crash on the rocks of destruction and sink beneath the waves of Communism.



This geometric design adorns back cover of book, "Black Monday," by white supremacist Tom Brady.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Sizoo
- Mr. Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

New Cross Afire in Dixie

(Second article of a series)
By JAMES DESMOND

LEXINGTON, Miss., Nov. 22.—Thirty-five years ago the rampant Ku Klux Klan staked a burning cross in front of the house of any family marked for ostracism in the South. Today, the more sophisticated White Citizens Councils of Mississippi, sponsors of the new economic Kluxism, get the same results with a few well-placed words.

And what increases the power of the White Citizens Councils immeasurably is that the great majority of white Mississippians, even though they oppose the new Kluxism, fervently believe that segregation must be

preserved and, therefore, are in sympathy with the goals of the WCC if not its methods.

The argument of the majority is twofold. First, it is said that carrying out integration of the schools as the U. S. Supreme Court ordered on May 17, 1954, would bankrupt the state without providing better education for the Negro.

Second, the majority says that

moving Negroes, from their admittedly inferior schools into white classes would drag down the already low academic rating of the white schools.

The poverty of Mississippi is self-evident. Its per capita income is the lowest in the country and it would take a 75% boost to bring it to within striking distance of surrounding states. And it is generally acknowledged that the schools

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- Wash. News _____
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- Daily Worker _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

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Four frightened Negro boys are bullied into testifying that two white men p

Replies

By Dr. Theodore R. Van Dellen

BATH TECHNIQUE

W. L. writes: How is a sitz bath taken?

REPLY

Sit down in the bathtub with enough warm water to cover the hips.

EYELID ERUPTION

Mrs. Y. writes: My upper eyelids are red and sometimes they crack open and a fluid comes out. Could this mean kidney trouble?

REPLY

No. Redness and puffiness are

(Continued from page 3)

would have to slow down their teaching if fully integrated until the backward children caught up.

These beliefs are so firmly ingrained in Mississippians that every candidate for governor in last summer's Democratic primaries, which actually amount to election, was for segregation, including the winner of the runoff, J. P. Coleman, attorney general and governor-elect.

It was in this atmosphere that the White Citizens Councils came into being, with the leaders boasting at the outset that they would use economic squeezes and "man-to-man" talks to prevent Negroes from applying for admission to white schools and to discourage Negro voting.

But grown to maturity with about 300 councils comprising more than 65,000 dues-paying members in Mississippi alone, and uncounted thousands in other states, the WCC is now soft-pedaling its "enforcement" activities.

Anything the members do—whether firing a Negro from his job or giving him stern warning—they do as individuals, according to W. J. Simmons, state administrator of the White Citizens Councils.

Which makes pertinent the story of Holmes County, of which Lexington is the seat, in the last year and a half while the White Citizens Councils were spreading over the state, particularly in the Mississippi Delta counties where cotton reigns.

Holmes has a 3-to-1 Negro population, but it is not truly a Delta county, only one-third of its land lying in the Delta, the rest merging into the hills. But the ruling classes in Holmes are Delta-minded and from the outset they have run one of the most militant White Citizens Councils.

TEACHER IS SHOT, LOSES HER JOB

Here are some of the things that have happened in Holmes County during the period of the White Citizens Councils' emergence and growth:

1 Sheriff Richard F. Byrd slugged a Negro boy and shot him in the back because the Negro "hollered" at the sheriff's passing car. The shooting was never presented to the grand jury.

2 A Negro schoolteacher, shot by the ne'er-do-well son of a prominent family, was denied reemployment when her teaching contract ran out—after several years of apparently satisfactory teaching—and was forced to move to Chicago. Her husband was fired from his job as a gas station attendant. Again, the case was never presented to the grand jury.

3 At nearby Tchula, which is almost an all-Negro community, a Negro plumber has lost most of his customers, who explained to him that they had been told (by white men) not to

do business with him. His sin was that he was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and too forward about desegregation.

4 Two leaders of the White Citizens Councils have been elected state representatives despite the fact that the WCC claims to be "nonpolitical."

5 A mass meeting has been held, with a White Citizens Council leader presiding, to order two white men to get out of town because they offended local customs by trying to alleviate the condition of the Negroes. The white men are still "hanging on" but uncertain of their future.

6 The Rev. Marsh M. Callaway, 60, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of nearby Durant, was fired from his pastorate by a 43 to 2 vote of the church's resident members because he attended the mass meeting and denounced it as "un-Christian and un-American." He will leave the church Sunday after a new pastor is appointed.

PRINTED ACCOUNT; SUED FOR LIBEL

Taking the cases in order, the shooting of the Negro boy, Richard Randall, by Sheriff Byrd actually antedated the organization of the White Citizens Council in Holmes County. But the case came within WCC purview when Byrd sued Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, publisher of the Lexington Advertiser and Durant News, both weeklies, for libel in the fall of 1954 for printing an account of the incident.

Byrd is a prominent and active member of the WCC, which makes it a matter of principle to "cooperate" with local officials. And in his libel suit, he had the backing of the top leaders of the WCC, although all were acting in the organization's term as "individuals."

Nevertheless, the climate created by the White Citizens Councils was clearly spelled out when the case reached the Mississippi Supreme Court, which threw out a \$10,000 verdict awarded Byrd by the trial jury.

VICTIMS WON'T TALK, PUBLICLY

The use of economic pressure is harder to document. Certainly when scores of Negroes get word independently not to do business with a certain man or firm, the pressure is more than spontaneous.

A Negro widow with seven children, crushed by an economic boycott of her neighbors, whose "white men" had told them not to deal with her, was unable to find a purchaser for her eight-room house and grocery store, for which she asked only \$3,000. Considering that \$600 a room is considered fair down here, the place was a bargain—not even counting the grocery store—but the most credit any Negro could get toward the purchase was \$600.

A Negro undertaker found that

membership in his burial club (down here Negroes pay a few pennies a week to the undertaker to provide for burial and he takes care of all expenses) was dwindling because he was in the NAACP. He quit and business is better.

As for the nonpolitical character of the WCC in Holmes County, just a couple of elections need to be noted. Wilburn Hooker, planter, insurance man and merchant, was the first chairman of the Holmes County Citizens Council and last summer he won election as state representative as he moved from county chairman to the executive committee of the WCC for the 3d Congressional District, which embraces nine counties. And in Tchula, J. P. Love, chairman of the White Citizens Council, also has won his first term in the Legislature.

To come now to the mass meeting that ordered two white men to get out of Holmes County. The white men in question are two dedicated men, Dr. David R. Minter and A. E. Cox, who run the Providence Cooperative Farm on



William J. Simmons, a leader of the White Citizens Councils.

a dirt road about eight miles off the highway between Tchula and Greenwood, Miss.

The farm isn't much. Only four families—two white and two Negro—live on it. But Minter and Cox have been a thorn in the white community because they have devoted themselves to ameliorating the condition of the Negroes, strictly within the patterns of segregation that control Southern living.

Dr. Minter, a University of Pennsylvania graduate, runs a small clinic for Negroes on the farm—when he isn't serving at the county hospital in Lexington—and Cox administers the farm and runs a small grocery store for the Negro field hands.

On Sunday, Negroes and whites attend educational movies or lectures at the farm—sitting in properly segregated sections of the small hall.

Minter and Cox have never been wholly acceptable to the

Confidential

In Indianola, Sunflower County, Mississippi a local Citizens Council has been formed. It is dedicated to preserving our way of life by upholding racial segregation on a local level. Other communities hearing of this group have asked for help in forming similar ones. The idea is spreading throughout the state.

By Herman Hoors, President of Indianola Bank

Gentlemen:

I presume all of you were told when you were invited here the nature of this meeting. We appreciate your presence and assure you that we are glad to give of our time hoping, feeling that something can be accomplished. We would liked to have presented this matter in person but the job is too great for our Indianola group; we have gone into a number of other counties and each time there were present citizens from other adjoining counties and they invited us to come and meet with them. We realize that our group alone cannot cover the state and that in this wire recorded presentation. We are from the Sunflower County, where the problem is it is your problem.

Box 106
Holly Ridge, Miss.
August 31, 1954

Dear Sirs

All the following organizations are interested in the segregation problem. It would probably be to your advantage to have one member of your group subscribe as an individual in order that you may receive the information designated.

Some of these groups are Anti-Semitic; however, all of the religious groups including all Protestant, Catholic and Jewish - have been pushing the Anti-Segregation issue and it is time for all of us to speak out for separation of the races. The White Sentinel - Box 156 - St. Louis, Mo.

Yours truly

Robert S. Patterson
Robert S. Patterson

Letters marked "confidential" stir the fight against desegregation.

Holmes County white community, but feeling against them didn't roll into high until after the Emmett Till murder trial in Sumner, Miss., last September. In Holmes County, where the WCC dominates all social and economic life, sympathy was high for J. W. Milam, 36, and Roy Bryant, 24, while they were on trial for killing young Till, a Chicago Negro.

With the acquittal of the pair and the subsequent national publicity, local resentment focused on Minter and Cox.

As a consequence, four Negro teen-agers, all field hands, were hauled in by Sheriff Byrd, who has something of a reputation as a bully. In the presence of Byrd, County Attorney Barrett and top members of the WCC, the Negroes were placed before a microphone. The mike was for a tape recording.

DRAWN GUNS GET DESIRED ANSWERS

For the next hour, the boys were cross-examined, the purpose of the questioning being to elicit statements that Minter and Cox permitted mixed and white bathing in a pond on their farm and that they mingled the races at the Sunday afternoon meetings. Taking part in the questioning—as he later inadvertently admitted—was Ed White, church elder, prominent business man and a guiding light of the WCC.

The four Negro boys, cowed by the gun-toting sheriff, finally gave the desired answers.

Promptly there was a meeting of certain members of the White

Citizens Council and a mass meeting at Tchula was summoned on Sept. 26. State Rep.-elect Hooker said the mass meeting wasn't sponsored by the WCC, but just happened "spontaneously."

Whatever its genesis, it was WCC leader of the Tchula Council, State Rep. Love, who presided. And at this meeting the tape recording of the "testimony" of the four field hands was played.

The mass meeting, after all but ignoring statements by Minter and Cox, adopted a resolution by standing vote advising the doctor and his associate that they were "undesirables" and that Holmes County would be better off without them.

Hooker, as executive committee member of the WCC for the Congressional District, denied that the WCC had any part in the meeting, even though its members turned out in strong force.

Hooker, however, tipped the applecart when asked how come his fellow state representative-elect, Love, happened to preside at the meeting.

"How," he asked, "could you have a meeting in this county without one of our members in the chair?"

[Tomorrow, meet Judge Tom P. Brady, white supremacist who says that enslavement conferred upon the Negro is "the greatest benefit one man ever conferred upon another."]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Sizoo
- Mr. Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

White Citizens Councils of Mississippi

New Klan Rides in South; Its Whip: Economic Terror

(In a revealing series of five articles, veteran NEWS reporter James Desmond paints a vivid picture of the frightening power built up in Mississippi by the anti-desegregation White Citizens Councils and fanning through the Southland. Desmond, who covered the Till murder trial in Mississippi, made an intensive tour of the South, criss-crossing the rich Delta region where Negroes outnumber whites 3 and 4 to 1, attending meetings of the WCC and talking to victims of the new terror).

By JAMES DESMOND

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 21.—A new Ku Klux Klan is exploding across the South and with the modern weapon of economic terrorism is carrying on the fight for "everlasting" segregation of the white and Negro races that the old Klan waged with hooded night riders and flaming crosses a generation ago.

There have been no lynchings and no bedsheeted night descents on the homes of nonconformists. But in the scant year and a half of its life, the new Klan has created a climate of fear that has straitjacketed the South's white community in

a kind of thought control enforced by financial sanctions, and has undone most of the improvements in race relations made over the last 30 years.

It also, in the opinion of forward-looking Southerners, has created an explosive situation in which a single incident could



Robert B. Patterson
Heads White Citizens Council

spark an interracial conflict frightful beyond all American experience.

For today racial tensions in South are the tightest they have

(Continued on Page 12, Col. 1)

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- Wash. Post and Times Herald
- Wash. News
- Wash. Star
- N. Y. Herald Tribune
- N. Y. Mirror
- N. Y. Daily News
- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

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(Continued from page 3)

been since the old Klan went rampaging across the land with its lashes and tar-and-feathers 35 years ago.

Increasing violence is reported in many sections, although official statistics are sadly deficient. Suspicion and fear between the races is reaching new heights. And white opponents of the new movement are being silenced by implicit threat and overt use of economic sanctions.

LEADERS NOT THUGS OR POOR WHITES

Yet the leaders of the new Klan are not thugs or hoodlums, nor poor whites hating the Negro because of bitter competition for what is at best a poor living. On the contrary, the new organization is headed up, in most cases, by the men who are leaders of their communities, in business, in society and in the churches.

The new Klan has twice as many names as there are states below the Mason-Dixon Line, but it is best epitomized here in Mississippi where it was born a year ago last July—just two months after the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its famous decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in the public schools.

That decision was taken as a direct insult by most white Southerners. They saw in it another attempt by the North to use the federal government to change what is called "the Southern way of life" without giving the people concerned a chance to vote on it.

And in the general outpouring of protest, 14 men met in Indianola, in cotton-rich Sunflower County in the Mississippi Delta on July 11, 1954, and put together the first White Citizens Council of Mississippi.

MISSISSIPPI HAS 65,000 MEMBERS

From that first secret meeting of 14 men in Indianola, the White Citizens Councils have mushroomed in less than 18 months to nearly 300 councils and 65,000 dues-paying members (at \$5 a head) in Mississippi alone, and uncounted allied councils, with identical constitutions in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia and Florida.

In addition, the White Citizens Council of Mississippi formally allied itself with other white supremacy groups throughout the South in the Federation for Constitutional Government, which was launched last Oct. 25 in New Orleans, with John U. Barr, industrialist, as chairman.

This makes the WCC, a relatively late arrival on the scene,

the dominant organization in the new Kluxism.

Thoughtful Mississippians, who have studied the White Citizens Councils closely, attribute the dramatic growth of the organization to two things: (1) Development of the technique of using economic sanctions against dissenters, white and Negro, and (2) a bankroll put up by undisclosed groups.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS PULLED IN RECRUITS

Although the smoothness of the organizing drive indicates a substantial bankroll, it is apparent that in the early campaign at least, the economic sanctions technique was what pulled in the recruits. For this put a weapon in the hands of local councils that could be used locally without fear of legal interference.

It is a weapon that works. Negroes have been fired from their jobs, kicked off their tenant farms, refused credit and badgered by public utilities for dissenting from the ruling white class in communities where the WCC is strong.

Nor have white men been immune. At least two white men have been ordered to get out of town in one WCC community, and Jews and Catholics, a minority everywhere in the South, have felt constrained by the threats of economic pressure to join up with the WCC to avoid isolation.

Although the Catholic Church and top Jewish leaders have strongly denounced the WCC and all it stands for, the Southern Jews and Catholics rationalize membership in the new Kluxism by saying that they want to try to control the extremists in their local communities. There is no evidence that they have succeeded.

CLAIM INDIVIDUALS PUT ON PRESSURE

All this was but a logical development of the White Citizens Councils movement. From that first meeting in Indianola, through the subsequent organization drive and right down to the present day, no one in the WCC denies that economic pressure is being used against dissenters.

Today, however, it is the practice of leaders to say that it is not the organization that applies economic sanctions, but members acting as individuals.

The fact remains that the original WCC constitution and the literature circulated in the early organizing drive—literature that went out stamped confidential and is now virtually impossible to get—started from the premise that the Negro is inferior and that the way to keep him "in his place" is to squeeze him economically and put fear into him.

Extension of the economic



The hooded set had a brief resurgence five year ago, but has now yielded to subtler White Supremacy groups.

squeeze to dissenting, or even merely unpopular, white men was inevitable, given the circumstances.

EARLY LITERATURE MINCED NO WORDS

The secret literature of the first two months of the WCC clearly spelled out the Kluxist nature of the organization. Herman Moore, president of the Indianola Bank, one of the founders, in a speech mimeographed (and now unavailable) for use in proselytizing, bluntly stated:

"There has been no publicity and we have suggested to each group we have met with that they keep it out of the papers and off the air. The news has trickled out, just as we expected and hoped it would. The Negro (the mimeo used a lower case N) knows that we are organizing but he does not know what we plan to do. The best thing is . . . to keep him guessing and continue our efforts."

The sample constitution circulated by the founders throughout the Delta established the principal of economic retaliation against dissenters by providing for appointment of legal advisory committees in every local council to "provide legal council (sic) for all members (and) to recommend application of economic pressure to trouble-makers."

And for any who couldn't recognize trouble makers within the meaning of the legal advisory committees, Sunflower County Supervisor Fred Jones, a founder, made it clear in a letter circulated under the official imprimatur of the WCC.

"We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate we can apply social and political pressure," Jones wrote.

However, it remained for Robert B. (Tut) Patterson, 32-year-old planter and onetime college football star, the chief founder and executive secretary of the

Mississippi White Citizens Councils, to give the new organization an ideological push in the direction of old-style Klan thinking.

In a letter secretly sent out on Aug. 31, 1954, Patterson advised every new White Citizens Council to designate a member to subscribe to 35 publications put out by professional bigots and white supremacists "in order that you may have the information" that they publish.

EXPLAINS STRUGGLE AS BLACK AND WHITE

"Some of these groups are anti-Semitic," Patterson wrote. "However, all of the religious groups including all Protestants, Catholic and Jewish have been pushing the anti-segregation issue and it is time for all of us to speak out for separation of black and white races; regardless of our race or creed."

The accompanying list suggested as required reading such publications as "The Cross and the Flag," put out by the veteran bigot, Gerald L. K. Smith; "The White Sentinel," originating in St. Louis, Mo.; a rash of California publications dedicated to white supremacy, and the output of such groups as the Christian Nationalist Crusade, of Los Angeles; the National Association for the Advancement of White People, of Washington, D. C., and the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of White People, Inc., of Griffin, Ga.

The secret phase of the White Citizens Councils organizing drive lasted just two days short of two months—from July 11 to Sept. 9, 1954, when the Associated Press carried a story out of Jackson disclosing that state legislators were boasting of the new group.

SOME VIOLENT, SOME MODERATE

The legislators talked tough. One, who apparently refused to be quoted by name, called for "a few killings" to teach the Negro to stay out of white schools. Others were more moderate, arguing that the White Citizens Councils would prevent bloodshed. It was apparent from the

comment that violence—either its prevention or execution—was in the minds of all.

As State Rep. Dave Womack, from Humphreys County in the cotton Delta, put it:

"Yes, sir, we have one of them (a WCC); the strongest in the state. We have about 500 members and they mean business."

The legislative boasting shocked a good many people in Mississippi and, apparently, the White Citizens Councils themselves. For four days later, Mrs. Wilma B. Sledge, state representative from Sunflower County, where the WCC was born, took the floor of the Legislature for a speech disavowing the violent talk.

"They (the WCC) do not and will not advocate violence in any form," Mrs. Sledge declared.

STATE ORGANIZATION IS TONED DOWN

Within a month, a state organization was set up with headquarters in the Walthall Hotel in Jackson and W. J. Simmons, a fruit broker and sometime British army officer, was installed as "administrator," as a sort of counterweight to Patterson, the ebullient executive secretary.

The money now began to roll in. At first the state organization got \$1 of the \$5 each member paid to his local council in dues. But this was soon boosted to \$2 and the membership rolls, previously restricted to "white male citizens" were thrown open to women, presumably because they were needed as "enforcers" in employing social sanctions.

Last month the state council began publishing its own monthly newspaper at \$2 per annum, with all members being urged to sign up. The circulation is still unknown.

But the specter of thought control that the White Citizens Councils brought to Mississippi has become a monstrous cloud blotting out nearly all dissent.

(Tomorrow: Thought control through economic sanctions and social ostracism, more insidious than hooded night riders and flaming crosses.)

Where Shall We
Draw The Line?

SEGREGATION OR DEGENERATION ?

The choice is yours.



Newlyweds Toast Future: Musician Benny Carter and his new bride, singer Dianne Day, drink a champagne toast in Los Angeles after being married in two ceremonies—one by proxy in Tijuana, Mexico, and another in a Phoenix, Ariz., church.

"If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone. The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would the redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the Negro."



Kowless Apple and family.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Citizens Councils; Winona, Miss.
"The moving finger writes; and having writ
Moves on: nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line
Nor all your tears wash out one word of it."



Day meets girl . . . "bebop" style

This tearsheet is the type of "educational" literature the White Citizens Council uses to warn Southerners of encroaching de-segregation. The montage stigmatizes mixing of the races.

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Boardman ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. Harbo ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Parsons ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Sizoo ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

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Called the
White Citizens Council,
 it's really a new Klan,
 says NEWS reporter
 James Desmond,
 just back from Mississippi,
 where this pro-segregation
 movement first erupted.

Members wear no bedsheets—
 but negroes are suddenly fired
 from jobs, kicked off farms,
 felled by bullets. These Kluxers
 in everything but name, don't gang up
 at fiery cross conclaves—but whites
 who oppose them feel the sharp edge of
 economic boycott cunningly applied.

Prepare to be startled by this
 first-hand story of the once half-
 secret WCC, now feeling its oats
 and throwing its weight around
 in a re-birth of a national disgrace.

For the first of five eye-opening installments ... see tomorrow's

DAILY NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

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Students Oppose Canceling Talk

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Nov. 18 (AP).—The Student Senate at the University of Mississippi has asked school officials not to cancel an invitation given to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, pro-integration minister.

The Oxford, Ohio, minister is scheduled to speak at Religious Emphasis Week at the University February 20-22.

"The invitation extended to the Rev. Mr. Kershaw was to conduct seminars on religion and literature as an expert in the field of 'religion and modern drama' and not to discuss segregation or integration of the races," the Student Senate said Tuesday. "We are not indorsing the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's views or the views of any organization."

Mr. Kershaw, an expert on jazz, won \$32,000 on the Columbia Broadcasting System's television quiz program, "The \$64,000 Question." He indicated he might give part of the money to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to fight segregation.

Members of the State Legislature and the Citizens Council objected and asked that the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's invitation be revoked.

Ben Davis
Wigout

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Ban on Talk by Friend Of NAACP Opposed

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen
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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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Mr. Rosen

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UNIVERSITY, Miss., Nov. 12
 (AP)—The University of Mississippi student newspaper yesterday blasted the Citizens Councils and a state representative for an attempt to screen speakers invited to the university.

In an editorial, the Mississippian objected to a request by the Councils and by Rep. James Morrow of Rankin County for the university to revoke its invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, to speak during religious emphasis week next year.

Basis for the objection was the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's statements on the Columbia Broadcasting System's television quiz show, "The \$64,000 Question," that he planned to use some of his winnings to help the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People fight segregation.

Morrow and the Citizens Councils called for public rebuke of the minister.

Dr. W. Alton Bryant, university provost, said the university has "made no announcement in the situation." He declined additional comment.

The Mississippian editorial accused the Councils and Morrow of "neglecting to grasp the meaning of a university."

"Students attend a university to increase their knowledge, gather information through freedom of speech and inquiry and formulate their own opinions."

"How is this possible when they are cuddled like children?"

The editorial also called upon university officials to "realize that students are intelligent, not necessarily radical, and capable of making their own decisions and forming opinions."

Panel to Discuss

Till Kidnaping Case

Mississippi's Emmett Till

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- Wash. Star _____
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
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- Daily Worker _____
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Rankin White Council Seeks 125 Members

Special to State Times
FLORENCE, Miss. — A new Citizens Council in southwest Rankin County is trying to boost its membership from 50 to 125.

Secretary Henry Shepherd of the month-old Council for the county's Beat 1 said those who enroll in the pro-segregation organization at a meeting here Monday night will be accepted as charter members."

The meeting will begin at 7 p.m. Speaker will be Jimmy Walker, Jackson attorney who unsuccessfully sought the office of central district public service commission in this summer's Democratic primaries.

W. J. Simmons of Jackson, state Citizens Council secretary, helped organize the group here. Sgt. Dan T. Keel of Florence School is president.

Citizens Council

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Falstaff — Checking 'Boycott'

Mayor Marion B. Simpson of Canton said today Falstaff representatives approached him after spreading news of the brewery's contribution to the NAACP stirred the wrath of Canton merchants.

A member of the pro-segregation Citizens Council, Simpson remarked:

"After word got around about the donation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, some Falstaff people came around to see me to learn how the report originated.

"I showed them the copy of 'The White Sentinel,' the St. Louis publication with a picture of the falstaff vice-president handing over the check."

Meantime, W. T. Hackett Jr., manager of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, said grocers "were getting Falstaff out of their stores."

The Sentinel, published by the National Citizens Protective Association, contained the story of the Falstaff donation to the NAACP in the October issue.

In St. Louis, Karl Vollmar, vice-president of the brewery, said he had heard "there was some irritation" in Mississippi over the contribution.

Vollmar said the company made the donation of \$500 to the NAACP "but it was years ago. We've had nothing to do with them since the Supreme Court decision against segregation."

Delta merchants were reported by W. H. Galaspy, of Greenwood, board member of the state retail grocers association, to be angered over the Falstaff contribution.

- Mr. Tolson _____
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- Mr. Belmont _____
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- Miss Gandy _____

Boycott
C. F. Wright

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Rankin County Group Forms White Council

Special to State Times

BRANDON, Miss. — A Citizens Council has been organized for Beat 1 of Rankin County with Dan T. Keel as superintendent. Other officers are W. F. Gordon, vice president, and Henry Shepherd, secretary.

The area from which the new organization gets its members includes the communities of Florence, Plain and Star.

Keel urged Rankin Countians to attend a meeting of the new group Monday night at Florence High School.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
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Mr. Boardman

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Segregation Top Topic At MEC Forum

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- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
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Republican 'Slips In' As Forum Panel Member

By WILLIAM KEITH
State Times Staff Writer

Questions from the audience flew thick and fast at the fifth annual National Affairs Forum at Central high school auditorium Thursday. The forum was sponsored by the Mississippi Economic Council, with Fred B. Smith, of Ripley, MEC vice-president, acting as the moderator.

State Congressmen on the panel included Sen. John C. Stennis and representatives John Bell Williams, Arthur Winstead, W. M. Colmer and Jamie L. Whitten.

Governor-elect J. P. Coleman, former governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Congressman William H. Avery, of Kansas, rounded out the panel, which withstood a barrage of questions for over an hour.

Congressman Avery, in town as a member of a House veterans affairs sub-committee making an annual inspection tour of the Veterans Administration hospital here, was a "surprise entry."

He went to the forum as a spectator, was introduced to the audience by Smith and accepted Smith's spontaneous invitation to join the panel as its only Republican.

Here are some of the questions asked by members of the audience, together with a condensation of the reply from the panelist to whom the query was directed, either by

the questioner or by the moderator:

Q.—What are chances of maintaining segregation in the schools of the South?

Talmadge said it depends upon the attitude of Southern whites, adding that if they organize as "an insurmountable barrier," the Negroes, in his opinion, will not push efforts toward racial integration in the schools.

He pointed out that Georgia has enacted legislation whereby any school in which the races are mixed automatically have funds cut off.

If forced to take such steps, said Talmadge, Georgia is prepared under state law to abolish its public school system and appropriate state school funds to the individual child, who may then attend the school of his choice.

"No court can get around that," he said.

Q.—Do you agree that the federal highway program proposed by Gen. Lucius Clay is essential to national security?

Sen. Stennis said he feels the Clay plan does not give rural areas proper consideration and is more of a "city-to-city" plan. He said he thinks there is an "over-emphasis" on the military angle in the Clay plan and that it is similar in large degree to Germany's pre-World War II highway system geared to military needs.

Q.—What hope is there for conservatives to gain a voice in the federal government if we continue to divide our strength between the two major parties?

"Not much," replied Congressman Colmer, who suggested perhaps there should be some realign-

ment of political parties, with "those who think as the CIO and ADA and left-wing press" in one party and "those who adhere to the Jeffersonian principles" in another. He conceded, however, that he sees little possibility of such a line-up.

He called for a "bold, militant front" for Southern delegates to the next Democratic presidential nominating convention and stressed the need for "consecrated Southern leaders willing to give more than lip service to maintaining the Southern way of life." With such unity, he added, the South will not need to worry about rulings "by a political court."

Q.—Why do we continue to pour so much money into our foreign-aid programs?

Congressman Williams said he has been asking the same question for ten years. He said he voted for the first Marshall Plan in 1948 and hopes that is "one sin I can make up for."

Senator Stennis defended our continuing support of large-scale foreign aid programs, especially as it pertains to its military aspect, particularly in Turkey, Greece and Pakistan.

"I don't believe we ever spent a better military dollar" than we did in military aid to these three nations, said the senator, who praised their "grit, will-power and personal courage" in standing up to the Russian threat.

He termed the recent German decision to "cast its lot with the West-

ern powers" a major step toward world peace and said that if Germany sticks by this decision the Marshall Plan, "despite a lot of money wasted, will have been a sound investment."

Congressman Colmer said he supported the foreign aid program in its early stages but feels now that we have gone far enough in giving financial support to countries, some of which are "now better off than we are" financially, because of our large national debt.

Congressman Whitten said Congress recently added \$3 billion to our foreign aid program despite the fact that those responsible for its administration have indicated to Congress that they don't know

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how to spend some \$8 billion in "carry-over" funds.

He said manufacturers of cotton gin equipment and tractors are selling their products to countries getting our foreign aid and thus in effect are "moving our cotton acreage overseas."

Q.—Do you think a majority of Congressmen feel the U.S. Supreme Court has wrongfully taken powers from the states by some of its recent decisions?

Practically all Southern Congressmen feel this way, replied Congressman Colmer, who added that there "may be a few Congressmen from other sections of the country" who would be willing to go along with these decisions.

Q.—Do you think the Citizens Councils have the right approach to the segregation issue?

Talmadge termed it "highly important" that all Southern states organize groups under "responsible leaders" for this purpose and said he has been "favorably impressed" by the type of men who head Citizens Council groups in Mississippi.

Q.—How can we better subsidize the farmer?

Congressman Avery said he sees little prospect of an increase in exports of American farm products and little prospect of an increase in acreage allotments.

Congressman Williams said he sees "no immediate solution to the farm problem" until this country "recaptures our world markets and stops using American tax money to subsidize competitors all over the world."

Q.—Why is there no Citizens Council in Georgia?

Talmadge says Georgia has recently organized a States Rights Council. In an interview earlier in the day, the former Georgia governor said the purpose of this council is "to fight for the preservation of constitutional government," that it is non-political and non-factional and that it is not a "secret" organization.

Q.—Do you think Adlai Stevenson will be the Democratic nominee for president and what chance has he to win the presidency?

"Your guess is as good as mine," answered Talmadge, who added that Stevenson will be elected, in his opinion, if he is nominated and if President Eisenhower is not a candidate for re-election.

Q.—What are chances of passing a constitutional amendment vesting states with the right to control their own marriage laws, voting procedures and school systems?

Senator Stennis said that such right, in his opinion, already is vested in the states under the tenth amendment but that any stronger spelling out of these rights is "doomed" until there is a reversal in present trends of political thinking by the two major parties.

He said the battle to maintain segregation must be fought on the local level and said Southern leaders on that level should tell Negroes that they have no intention of mixing races in public schools.

Q.—What are the chances of organizing one third of the U.S. Senators to block nomination of any more radical federal court and Supreme Court justices?

Senator Stennis said there is a "strong movement" along this very line which has so far not been given any publicity. He said he could not elaborate on this movement at this time.

Q.—What effect if any has the United Nations charter had on recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions?

Senator Stennis said such effects could be reflected in many indirect ways but that "extra-liberal interpretations of the United Nations charter" have, in his opinion, been repudiated by the American people.

Talmadge recalled a recent U.S. Supreme Court minority opinion by three justices upholding ex-president Truman's attempt to seize the steel industry in order to carry out the terms of treaties made by the United States.

"Had that been the majority opinion," he said, "we would have had a dictatorship."

The threat, he said, points up the importance of passing the Bricker amendment or some similar measure limiting this country's treaty-making powers.

Q.—Would Kansas be willing to absorb its percentage of the nation's Negroes if they were equally distributed?

Congressman Avery said he represents only one of his state's five Congressional districts and could not speak for the state as a whole.

Q.—Should a list of all companies in Mississippi supporting the NAACP be made available to the Citizens Councils for appropriate action?

No panel members volunteered a reply to this question, and the moderator ruled that it did not deal with national affairs.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Rm.	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Citizen's Councils Are Major Force in State

By JOHN HERBERS
 United Press Staff Correspondent
 The South's White Citizens Councils, little more than one year old, today stand as a major challenge to the organized movement toward public school integration.

The councils now claim 65,000 dues-paying members in Mississippi and uncounted members in other Southern states in which they sprang up.

Leaders hope to gain supremacy over the widespread, intensively

organized National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has sponsored the legal battle against public school segregation.

First chapters openly recommended economic sanctions as a chief means of combatting the desegregation movement but council leaders now rely on the public influence of their members.

The membership now represents a cross-section of the most influential, church-going white citizens of the communities, according to J. W. Simmons, Mississippi state administrator.

"If you take the Farm Bureau, Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions clubs out of the Citizens Council movement," he said, "you wouldn't have much left."

Charge Red Plot

The councils preach the doctrine that attempts to break down segregation are part of a Communist plot to destroy America by mixing the blood of the "superior" white man.

One rural chapter meets every Saturday afternoon, Simmons said.

"They bring picnic lunches and sit around and talk about segregation and the NAACP."

The movement has spread into cities. The Jackson chapter has 1,300 members and the board of directors includes a number of church lay leaders.

"Segregation is a holy thing," Circuit Judge Tom Brady of Brook-

haven, Miss., told one of the six New Orleans chapters last week. "I care not what any Marxist, Christian or minister says, I can cite chapter and verse in the Bible."

One pamphlet distributed by the councils quotes Scriptures in defense of segregation. It was written by a former Presbyterian college president, Dr. G. T. Gillespie.

Rapid Spread

Brady, one of the movement's organizers and its most-used speaker, is author of a booklet called "Black Monday." It stresses white supremacy and cites Communist influences which Brady says are behind the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation.

The first council was formed in July of 1954 in Sunflower County in the heart of the state's rich cotton-growing "black" belt and spread rapidly across the state.

In their early days the councils openly admitted the use of "economic pressure" against Negroes who openly favored integration. But a recent newspaper story approved by the councils said that economic pressure was not organized by the councils.

Individuals who belong to councils may have persuaded Negroes to remove their names from school integration petitions by various means short of violence, the dispatch said.

"These means could include firing employees, or refusing to renew leases for share-croppers who have followed the NAACP line," it was reported.

Shortly after several integration petitions were filed by the NAACP in Mississippi, Negroes began removing their names. One petition that carried 40 signatures in the end had less than 10.

Handwritten notes:
 Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. DeLoach
 Mr. Casper
 Mr. Callahan
 Mr. Conrad
 Mr. Felt
 Mr. Gale
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Sullivan
 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
 Tele. Rm.
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZEN'S COUNCIL
 STATE TIMES
 JACKSON, MISS.
 11/2/55
 Page 10A Col. 6 - 8

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Eastland Calls For All-South Racist Body

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1.—Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss) has advised Southern states to band together through an official commission to "combat . . . vicious propaganda against the South and its institutions," it was learned today.

Eastland's call for a united Southern front was apparently prompted by the growing realization that many Southern officials are expressing a willingness to accept integration in some form. In the recent past Eastland has expressed alarm at events of an interracial character in Tennessee, Arkansas and Oklahoma. His plan seeks to keep "doubtful" Southern states in the pro-segregation ranks.

In outlining his plan a few days ago to representatives of the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, Eastland is quoted indirectly as saying:

"Much of this propaganda (against the South, especially since the unpunished murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi) is inspired and financed by Communist-front and race-minded groups."

Eastland made it clear in the interview that he had in mind opposing the U. S. Supreme Court decision which illegalized segregated schools. He did not mention the court but urged that every available means be used to "defend state sovereignty."

Another purpose of the proposed commission, according to Eastland, would be to spread the idea of white supremacy throughout the country to offset the mass movement for the creation of only one class of citizen in the U. S. On this, Eastland declared:

"Millions of fair-minded Americans in other regions, denied access to the truth, are being hoodwinked, misled and deceived by this cunning program (to enforce the anti-segregation ruling)."

Eastland said the Negro is being used as a pawns in the desegregation drive by those who are attacking the powers of states and the American system of government.

The present Eastland line of attack continues that which called for an investigation of Communist influences upon the U. S. Supreme Court in reaching the anti-segregation decision.



EASTLAND

gregation but wished to provide a means to give both races "a chance to be heard." The group sought to placate the Governor with the need for hearing out many "respectable Negroes" who would like to have a "moderate voice" in the settlement of the racial issue.

This plea for peaceful coexistence for Negro and white in Georgia appeared much to radical for the Governor who cited the failure of such commission to satisfy Gov. Hugh White in Mississippi. The Mississippi commission had been split on its report. A minority upheld segregation while all of the Negro members held that segregation was unacceptable. It did not live beyond the report.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Sizoo _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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Daily News Honored

Reds Ignite Hate For South To Squelch Conservatism, Judge Brady Tells Council

BELZONI, Miss. (Special)— Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady told the Humphreys County Citizen Council Wednesday night that the "genius of America" has always been below the Mason and Dixon line.

"It is wise for the Socialists and Communists to encourage Northern hatred for the South," Judge Brady declared, "because we are the most conservative element in America, the cradle of Democracy."

Speaking to a capacity audience in the Belzoni High School Auditorium, Judge Brady said, "There are three times as many men of color who hate you because your innate intelligence allowed you to rise above the brute."

He said the black race doubles itself in 40 years, the yellow race in 50 years and the white race in 60 years.

Major Frederick Sullens, editor of the Daily News, was awarded a plaque by the state organization in recognition of his courage in "upholding our Southern way of life." The plaque was presented by W. J. Simmons, executive secretary of the Citizens' Council, to Tom Karsell, who represented Major Sullens.

Judge Brady said Egyptian genius was destroyed by the mixture of white and black races.

"Cleopatra was as white as the whitest Southern lady," he said. "But the infiltration of other races brought the Egyptian civilization down forever, never to rise again."

He traced the growth of Socialism in the United States, pointing out that the income tax was one of the first socialistic programs which increased under President Roosevelt.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized in 1909 he said, because the "communists had failed in their attempts to corrupt the Negro" because of his training by white people and his "basic loyalty."

"It became fashionable in the early 1900's for American ministers to study in Germany," Judge Brady said, "and they returned to this country preaching Marxist Christianity."

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZEN'S COUNCIL
THE DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.
10/27/55
Page 5 Cols. 6 & 7
Section 3 NOV 14 1955

Banner

A Word of Praise For Mississippi

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

JACKSON, Miss.—Next time I unlimber by portable artillery I may be in another state—and in another mood—but right now I've got one long Rebel Yell for "Ole Miss."

Here is a sovereign state which boldly takes arms against its sea of trouble and, by opposing, seeks to end it. Racial relations are the chief cause of trouble. Anybody can sit in the corner with his moral compromises or can bow his neck to what is rational, what is inevitable. Anybody can—but can not and still be a true Mississippian. Down here they don't play the game that way. White folks down here are for white supremacy.

That attitude of no-compromise, no-ap-peasement, no-apology, no-indecision-of-the-soul-in-torment, is a minority posture in our times. If is undoubtedly reactionary, it is possibly reprehensible—but, oh my soul, how refreshing!

* * *

UNDERSTAND, "Ole Miss" is not without her follies and even some Pecksnif-ferry. Whatever the man's sincerity, I'm not much impressed by the Nordic who says that most Negro people really like segregation and believe that it's the best thing for both races. And I am not deeply convinced by the Negro who says that his people desire nothing more than the right to educational integration and that they'd waive the exercise of other rights.

Some truth, no doubt, lurks within each of these assertions, but neither of them is impressive or convincing. Not for such occasional sophistry (which is far from being characteristic and typical) is "Ole Miss" to be celebrated, but for the fear-less actions and forthright statements in behalf of her sovereign integrity as a republican form of government.

On May 17th, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States issued its decision against school segregation. Two months later, almost to the day, 14 men gathered at Indianola, Miss., and formed the first Citizens' Council, the basic unit of the non-violent, non-secret Resistance Movement which is now the strongest popular force in the 17 Southern States. The membership drive in this state is launched in language which will not attract the faint-hearted or the half-minded.

* * *

"IF YOU BELIEVE there can be no compromise on the matter of segregation; if you believe that integration will bring evils of miscegenation; if you believe that social intermingling and miscegenation will be seriously detrimental to both races and to our civilization; if you realize that either Communist influences or economic pressure groups stand behind every effort to invade States' Rights and force integration and miscegenation on the people of the people of the South; if you believe in the rights of the sovereign states to handle their own internal affairs; if you realize that indifference, apathy and the inclination of some to accept desegregation as "inevitable" are our greatest enemies; if you are positively dedicated, in your own mind, to the preservation of segregation without equivocation or qualification; if

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

BAVINGARDNER

C. L. Williams
S. C. J.

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA
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that indifference, apathy and the
tion of some to accept desegregation as
"inevitable" are our greatest enemies; if
you are positively dedicated, in your own
mind, to the preservation of segregation
without equivocation or qualification; if
you are ready and willing to do something
positive about this very serious and present
problem—then you should immediately
join . . ."

All such notices carry the names of the
Citizens' Council which distributes them,
as well as the address and phone number
of the headquarters. This is no Klan re-
vival. It is no Vigilante movement. The
leaders are among the best men in the
community. Great care is exercised to
exclude of expel persons of rowdy reputa-
tion and behavior. The basic purpose, so
stated, of these Councils is "the main-
tenance of segregation by all legal and
legitimate means."

* * *

THE RESISTANCE movement has been
called rebellion and civil disobedience and
an attempt to retreat into the past. All
this may be so. But the rebellion is not
so much against our federal government
as against the invisible authority of a One
Worldist government which seeks to gob-
ble up our own. The disobedience is of the
sort that Thomas Jefferson described as
"obedience to God." And the retreat into
the past looks more like a resolute re-
fusal to fly from, sacred and beloved
ground.

One thing "Ole Miss" has surely done,
better than most of her sisters in the Un-
ion—she has brought the very best peo-
ple of her community into the practice of
self-government. Hamilton called them
the good, the rich and the wise. Jefferson,
with equal approval, called them the aris-
tocrats of "virtue and talent." This re-
publican form of government, as the Con-
stitution names it, is not pure democracy.
But neither is the political bossdom which
runs many of our states with a lot less
regard for the people. By and large, I
believe, the kind of self-government that
the founders intended still holds the fort
in Mississippi.

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- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi State Auditor Leads White Citizens Councils' Drive

31

Led by Mississippi's state auditor-elect E. B. Golding, the White Citizens Council has launched a Mississippi-wide membership drive to "preserve segregation in our schools" and "fight the NAACP."

This was announced on a page of last Sunday's Jackson (Miss.) Daily News devoted to the propagation of racism. Golding told the Daily News that he was the only high state official who is a member of the White Citizens Councils, "the one biggest force on behalf of warding off integration."

According to Golding, there are now 60,000 WCC members in Mississippi to match the "250,000 members of the NAACP (who are) getting the advantages over millions of whites in the South."

White Citizens Council leaders are making it plain that their group is composed of the "best" citizens, solid businessmen and professional leaders. "No hoodlums run the business of the courts, and in their ranks may be found the names of the foremost citizens," according to the Daily News. And the Council disclaims

the charge that it "incites murder and lynching"; it is only trying to interest white people "to stop any trend toward recognizing Negroes as equal citizens."

Among the leading members of the WCC listed in the Daily News are, in addition to Golding: W. J. Simmons, a Jackson attorney; Robert "Tut" Patterson, a former football star, now WCC state secretary; P. F. Williams, a prominent Coahoma County wholesale grocer; John W. Dunlaney, Tunica County attorney; Dan Keel, superintendent of Florence High School, and John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi Bar Association.

In a companion piece to the Golding story, the Daily News ran a hysterically racist call to arms by Florence Sillers Ogden. Miss Ogden accused "northern Negroes" of seeking to "liquidate the white race—not by death, but by court order." Deploring the insistence of Negroes and white liberals upon enforcing the U. S. Supreme Court's mandate against segregated schools, Miss Ogden declared

"It is your race that is up for liquidation, my friend. And it is a minority race. . . . In this day of world thought, world agreements, world organizations, world talk, so happily embraced by some, it would be the grossest ignorance to fail to realize that the white race, judged by world standards, is a small minority."

And then this variation of saying the U. S. is a "white man's country": "The U. S. is its (white race's) greatest stronghold; its last bastion."

But there is a small voice of sanity among white Mississippians against the madness of the WCC and the Jackson Daily News. One such voice is that of Mrs. Robert Bowman, who wrote in a letter which the News published: "Why not drop the entire matter of Till and segregation? It is unChristian, undemocratic approaches such as yours that make conscientious persons like the Millsaps student and myself ashamed to be a Mississippian. (A Millsaps student had previously expressed a similar opinion.—Ed.)"

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- Wash. News _____
- Wash. Star _____
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
- N. Y. Mirror _____
- Daily Worker 3
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

Date OCT 26 1955

S. J. K. [Signature]

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
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- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Affairs of State

Citizens Councils Being Organized In Many Sections of State by Golding

By CHARLES M. HILLS
Clarion Ledger Staff Writer

State Auditor-Elect E. B. Golding, former Benton school superintendent, is stumping many sections of the state on behalf of the Mississippi Citizens' Council.

He is taking a lead in helping to organize new local councils and interest white people in all sections in joining up.

Mr. Golding tells us that insofar as he can learn, he is the only high state official who is a member of the Citizens' Council and that he has seen no others out speaking for or trying to encourage membership in the Council.

Despite all of the talk about preservation of segregation, the one biggest force on behalf of warding off integration lies in the strength of the Citizens' Councils, Golding tells.

Calls for Joining Hands
Speaking to a large number of Rankin county school teachers a few days ago, he called upon them to join hands with the Citizens' Councils and the Mississippi Legal Education Advisory Committee to fight the NAACP.

"I challenge the membership of the Rankin County Teachers' Association to join wholeheartedly with the LEAC and state legislature in their efforts to preserve segregation in our schools," Mr. Golding said.

"All the teachers, working through the Mississippi Educational Association could be the greatest force in Mississippi's fight to continue our southern way of life," the auditor-elect declared.

Mr. Golding tells us that he recently spoke at Mendenhall, where

a strong Citizens' Council unit was organized. Taking a lead role in the organization there was John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi State Bar and W. J. Simmons, secretary to the Jackson Citizens' Council.

Strong Councils
In addition, Golding also spoke recently at Citizens' Council rallies in Leake and Scott counties where he tells that there are now strong Citizens' Councils.

As a little sidelight, we can tell you that Golding feels that as a coming state official he is taking up the organization of Citizens' Councils very seriously and that he feels other state officials, now in office or to take office Jan. 1, should stand by and support and work for the Councils.

Be that as it may, none can say that the intrepid Golding isn't sticking his neck out politically and otherwise for what he believes to be right, giving indeed, more than just lip service.

It is interesting to note that there are now some 60,000 white citizens enrolled in the ranks of Mississippi Citizens Councils for the purpose of "mobilizing Mississippi to guard both whites and Negroes."

Active Councils
Officials of the Mississippi Citizens Councils, including former Mississippi State College football captain Robert (Tut) Patterson, of

Winona, state secretary, are very active.

They point out that there are only 250,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the entire nation. Yet they are daring and so far, getting the best advantages over millions of whites in the South.

Patterson tells that the 1956 membership drive in Citizens' Councils starts this month, and urges all to join.

Recently organized citizens councils, thumbnail sketched are: Florence (Rankin County) speakers Robert Burns, Ellis W. Wright and W. J. Simmons — Chairman Prof. Dan Keel, superintendent of Florence High School, October 13th.

Simpson County organizational meeting at Mendenhall — speakers Auditor elect E. B. Golding and John Satterfield, pres. Mississippi Bar Assn. and W. J. Simmons, Chairman C. D. Mullins, Mendenhall. Board of directors include representatives of each voting precinct. October 17th.

Tunica County Citizens' Council rally October 18th at Tunica High School. County Chairman is John W. Dulaney, Jr. prominent attorney. Speaker was W. J. Simmons.

Panola County was organized at Batesville meeting. Delegation from Coahoma County Citizens' Council led by Mr. P. F. Williams, Sr., prominent wholesale grocer, helped organize. Mr. Williams was principal speaker.

Lee County was organized at Tupelo meeting October 19th. Steering committee appointed to

draw up proposed charter and by-laws and nominations for officers and directors at next meeting. Committee chairman is Dr. Wilson (M.D.)

Not Ku Klux Klans
The Mississippi Citizens Council hotly defend against any claims that they are a modern-day version of the Ku Klux Klan.

No hoodlums run the business of the Councils, and in their ranks may be found the names of the foremost citizens. We are told that this rule will prevail.

The Council hides behind nothing, and newspaper publicity is invited. Officials are open for interviews by press and radio at any time.

In fact, the 263 state Councils have just begun operation of an

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Bennett

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS
THE CLARION LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
10/23/56
Page 15 Cols. 5-8

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official newspaper "The Citizens Council" dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and tranquility in our community and in our state and to the preservation of states' rights.

In a lead story this month, the public states that "economic pressure" has not been applied by the Council leadership, but says frankly that some individuals may have attempted it.

Such pressures, leaders say, would have been applied by individuals whether the Councils had existed or not. They state that their aim is not economic pressure and that the Councils have only served to "channel public feeling away from violence and toward an orderly handling of race relations in a state where whites and Negroes are evenly divided."

"Especially," the newspaper states, "do they deny NAACP charges that the Councils have created an atmosphere that incites murder and lynching. They cite instead, instances in which they have prevented bloodshed."

Councils are usually organized by leaders in the community where a need is seen. Permanent officers elected may include a chairman, vice chairman, secretary and treasurer and a board of directors. Four key committees are usually appointed. They are Information and Education; Legal Advisory; Membership and Finance and last but not least, Political and Elections Committee.

Councils may be organized municipally or county-wide.

PICK-UPS — Down in Pascagoula, folks say that the giant Ingalls Shipyards will in the near future get a contract to build an atomic-powered submarine If this comes to pass, Ingalls will emerge as one of the major Naval building stations in the world... Russia is already reported to have an atomic-powered sub that outdoes anything we have Congressman W. M. (Bill) Colmer, Pascagoula, is described to us by Washington newsmen touring Mississippi as one of the most influential members of the lower house of the U.S. Congress ... Mayor Laz Quave, of Biloxi, was present at a luncheon given by the Mississippi Manufacturers' Association honoring Gov. Hugh White and Gov. - Elect J. P. Coleman a few days ago at the Buena Vista Hotel, but he did not make a welcoming address... Lt. Gov.

Carroll Gartin, of Laurel, was described at that selfsame luncheon by Pres. George Huth of the MIA as the vote-gettingest man in Mississippi politics... Now Gartin wants to know "Where was George last summer?"... Tony Ragusin, manager of the Biloxi Chamber of Commerce has a color film of the Mississippi Gulf Coast, 17 minutes long, 16mm, which he will lend to any civic or service club for showing, and, it is a beauty, folks... Gov. Hugh White didn't tarry long at the Southern Governors' Conference, in fact, he has made it clear time and again that he has never been too much taken with such events... They are telling around the South that Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee is letting integrationists get too far only because he hopes and hopes to be a nominee for vice president on the Democratic ticket... A Washington newsman thinks that the South ought to be proud that we have a potential candidate for President of the United States in the person of Tennessee's Gov. Estes Kefauver... and, that goes to prove just how much some Yankees know about the Deep South, where Kefauver's name is "mud"....

EVERY WEEK SING

THE *Nation*

October 22, 1955 / 20c

THE RECKLESS LEGION . . . *by Bert Collier*

Colonialism: a New Challenge

by Edgar Snow

In Defense of Movie Music

by Dore Schary

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In Defense of Movie Music
by DORE SCHARY

pire electric associations been questioned, nor are the large corporations in the area eager for a change in their sources of power. San Miguel has depositions from United States Vanadium Corporation and the Vanadium Corporation of America, with large uranium mills at Uravan and Naturita, Colorado, calling its service "excellent." Empire received citations, under oath, of "pretty swell," and "very, very excellent," from the Diamond Match Company and the president

of the Colorado Milling Association. Other impressive depositions were also collected, but the Utah Power Commission refused to let them be read at the hearing. At the same time, it spared utilities-company witnesses cross-examination when they testified that a "dependable power supply" was needed.

But everyone is entitled to his day in court, and there will be a reckoning. The old cry of socialization of power does not ring true when the president of the invader

admits no confidence in the area, lets the people remain in darkness but for R. E. A., and then undertakes to seize the lush loads. A large Utah Power and Light stockholder, whose home had gone without power until San Miguel came in, testified: "It doesn't seem quite fair for a fellow to pioneer a country and then have some other company come in and cross his lines to go over to some mines. I think the fellow that is there now is entitled to the load that might be there."

RESPECTABLE RACISM

Dixie's Citizens Councils . . . by Dan Wakefield

Jackson, Mississippi
THEIR SHIRTS aren't red and they don't wear sheets—after all, times have changed, and this is 1955. The Citizens Councils that have grown up in the South since the United States Supreme Court decision on school integration are composed of "respectable" gentlemen and ladies (there is now an auxiliary) who are dedicated to depriving the Negro of his civil rights by means of the latest, most up-to-date methods.

The movement, born in Mississippi and copied in Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina (with similar but differently named organizations in Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia) is a proud, flag-waving challenge to what one council leader labelled the "socialistic doctrine" passed on May 17, 1954. And it is an answer to the call of United States Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who, shortly after the Supreme Court decision was rendered, declared: "We are about to embark on a great crusade. A crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. . . . Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize

that the fight we now wage will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory."

IN THE FACE of the rising tides, fourteen men met together in Sunflower county, Mississippi, in July, 1954, and formed the first Citizens Council. One of those original crusaders, a thirty-two-year-old, red-headed planter from Indianola, Mississippi, who had fought the good fight as captain of Mississippi State's football team not too many years before, is now executive secretary of the state council. The zeal of this man, Robert D. "Tut" Patterson, has been rewarded with a mushrooming of Mississippi membership to more than 60,000. When recently asked what he thought about Mississippi Governor Hugh White's estimate that integration was 100 years away, Mr. Patterson promptly replied, "I say 6,000 years."

"This isn't just a delaying action," he said. "There won't be any integration in Mississippi. Not now, not 100 years from now, maybe not 6,000 years from now—maybe never."

Attorneys, bankers, planters, mayors, former local chamber of commerce presidents, and assorted school officials are among the civic

leaders who have joined to help "Tut" Patterson hold back the flood. Just how they are going about it is rather vague, at least in official council announcements. It was first reported that the councils, although definitely opposed to violence, would keep the land pure by "economic pressure." The idea of "economic pressure" drew many bad press clippings, however, and now "Tut" Patterson says there is no such thing.

"We do not recommend economic pressure," he said. "That's false propaganda from the press. But of course, we don't denounce 'freedom of choice' in business arrangements. If employers fire their help, that's their business." When asked what methods are used in the "crusade" if violence and economic pressure are not council weapons, Mr. Patterson laughed and said "Would Montgomery Ward tell Sears Roebuck how he operates?"

One tool used by the Jackson, Mississippi, council is a mimeographed "confidential communique" mailed to members. "Confidential Communique No. 14," dated August 22, gave information about a Negro named Arrington High who publishes a newspaper urging integration. The "communique" did not suggest any action, but merely reported the situation. Soon after that, Arrington High was asked to remove his money from a local

DAN WAKEFIELD covered the Till murder trial on assignment from The Nation.

October 22, 1955

bank, and windows were smashed in his home.

The councilmen assume no responsibility. They grind out the letters on the mimeograph and hope that hate and fear will do the rest. They talk a great deal about the difference between their organization and the Ku Klux Klan, and yet the difference is slight. The klansmen hid their faces with sheets and paraded their deeds in the open. The councilmen hide many of their deeds, or at least many of the deeds their words inspire, behind memos and mimeographs and parade their faces in the open. But whether the means be a memo or a fiery cross, the end is the same—a climate of distrust and fear that breeds unsolved murders and threats of more. Phone calls threatening death are common to the Mississippi Negro leaders, and one National Association for the Advancement of Colored People official in Jackson said shots have been fired into his house.

IT CAN never, of course, be established just which of the incidents that have occurred since the growth of the councils are results, direct or indirect, of council actions. The white front is so united in many Southern towns that the law and civic leaders are often dedicated first to their racial commitments and second to the duties of office. As the Mississippi Citizens Councils' Annual Report puts it in reviewing the year's accomplishments, "The idea of solid and unified backing of circuit clerks, sheriffs, and local and state officials in the proper discharge of their sworn duties was worked out."

This racial priority was evidenced at Sumner, Mississippi, when the prosecutors in the Emmett Till murder case sent state police to search a county jail for a missing prosecution witness. It was seen by a Southern reporter who went to Belzoni, Mississippi, this May to investigate the murder of George Wesley Lee, a Negro minister who had committed the error of trying to vote. The reporter was given the names of four Negro witnesses. When he tried to find them he learned they were all in jail. The sheriff explained they were booked on charges of "stealing" although what they had stolen was strangely unknown.

But all this seems far removed from the chaste room in the Hotel Walthall in downtown Jackson, where much of the business of the Jackson Council and the state Association of Councils is carried on. There a tall, mustachioed man of thirty-nine sits at a long metal office desk with a two-volume "works" of Thomas Jefferson on it and a wrinkled map of Mississippi scotch-taped to the wall above. The man is W. J. "Bill" Simmons, who prepared for the task ahead with a B. A. at Millsaps College and graduate study at Toule, France, and the Sorbonne. He, like "Tut" Patterson and three office helpers, is a full-time council worker. Recently he volunteered to shoulder another new burden for the cause—editorship of a proposed Citizens Council newspaper that will hopefully "grow into the official organ of all Citizens Councils in the nation."

The office in Room 203 of the Walthall where this and other major plans of strategy are hatched is said to be a rent-free donation from hotel owner E. O. Spencer. Ironically enough, Mr. Spencer is a personal and political friend of Herbert Brownell, and the Attorney General supposedly uses him to dole out what Republican patronage there is in the state of Mississippi. It is a strange connection indeed that joins a patron of the councils with a man who must bear his share of responsibility for the integration decision.

The office in Jackson like the one in Winona where Patterson himself holds forth, does not hope to bind the hundreds of councils into any hierarchy or strictly defined organization. On the contrary, the looser the network the less the responsibility the leaders need to take. Mr. Simmons emphasized that the state



office has no jurisdiction over what local councils may do to help the cause in their own community.

This approach allows the leaders formally to disclaim responsibility for any group's actions—allows, for instance, "Tut" Patterson to say the councils don't use economic pressure, while at Yazoo City, fifty-three Negro signers of a petition for school integration were refused the purchase of food supplies, lost their jobs, and had their credit cut off until all but two of the original petitioners removed their names. Petitions for school integration were filed late this summer in four other Mississippi cities—Clarksdale, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Natchez. Legal technicalities that nullified the petitions were claimed by the school boards, and names of the petitioners were published in local newspapers. No list remains with all of its original signers.

AS UNWELCOME as the petitions are, however, the councils have found that they serve to awaken the whites to the "danger of mongrelization" (a favorite term of council propaganda.)

"Our Jackson council started in April with only sixty members," Bill Simmons said, "and by mid-July we had 300. But after the N. A. A. C. P. petition was filed in late July we went over 1,000 in two weeks' time."

There are, of course, many sections of the South where the process of desegregation is advancing with harmony. In West Virginia, Oklahoma, Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware, where Negroes have already started to schools with whites in one or more cities, the Association of Citizens Councils claims no foothold. It is areas such as these, proceeding calmly with integration, that are most disturbing to the councils. Wherever they can, council leaders try to monkeywrench this kind of progress. Speakers and organizers from Mississippi councils have traveled through nine other Southern states to promote their cause, and it was council pressure from Mississippi that helped slow the school integration at Hoxie, Arkansas, which had progressed without incident until white-supremacy crusaders came in with propaganda and meetings. These finally culminated in threats to the school super-

intendent and an early closing of the school's summer term.

Senator Eastland—who jumps to the call of segregation like Pavlov's dog to the sound of a bell—was one of the speakers at a meeting where men from Hoxie were asked to come for council enlightenment. This was the same enterprising Eastland who led a violent one-man Senate internal-security subcommittee investigation of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which happened to be the only interracial group in the South pressing for desegregation.

Senator Eastland hit another high point in May when he delivered a speech to the Senate "exposing" the Supreme Court decision as a Marxist plot to destroy the government. The court, he said, had been brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups who are "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country."



Senator Eastland

The integration issue has submerged other political questions in the Deep South, and in many places

election campaigns have been turned into contests among the candidates to surpass each other in promises of maintaining segregation. In last year's gubernatorial election in Georgia, platform planks included pledges to go to jail if the schools were mixed, and suggestions that a state board of psychiatrists examine any white people who wanted their children to go to school with Negroes.

The "crusade" is on, sometimes attached to the name of the councils, sometimes not—but the mimeograph machines are rolling, and new "confidential communiques" are on the way. Racial suppression has been made respectable, and those who doubt it have only to ask how one may join the councils. A recent advertisement in a Clarksdale, Mississippi, newspaper urged all the whites of the county to go to "your nearest local bank" and enlist in the cause.

MOROCCO AND THE U. S.

A Time to Intercede . . . by Alexander Werth

Paris, October 14

IN THE view of many observers, a solemn Anglo-American declaration urging France to adopt and execute a liberal policy toward North Africa is the most useful step that could be taken at this critical juncture in France's empire affairs. It is pointed out that the United States especially, with its important vested military interest in Morocco, is in a strategic position to demand that the present chaos be brought to an end.

The French Assembly debate on Algeria, still in progress as this is written, emphasizes Premier Faure's need for backbone. The Socialists have proposed a vote of non-confidence which is driving the Premier, who wants to hold on to his job, to seek the support of the enemies of the liberal policy he is supposed to represent. Unless the government

ALEXANDER WERTH is a staff contributor to *The Nation*.

October 22, 1955

acquires the courage to get rough with the die-hard imperialists, the situation in neither Algeria nor Morocco is likely to improve. And most observers agree that it will be easier for Faure to get rough if he knows that he has the active support of his Western allies. Although the French die-hards in North Africa depend ultimately on Paris for their financial and military support, they persist in ignoring the will of Parliament.

The name on the lips of everybody who knows anything about Moroccan wirepulling is Emile Roche. Emile Roche, an old Radical-Socialist, and for many years the *alter ego* of Joseph Caillaux, is the honorary president of Radical Federations of Morocco, a pillar of the North African lobby, and the man most closely associated with the French Moroccans' organization, *Presence Française*. And it is they who appeared to have won over the new Resident-General, General

Boyer de La Tour, who subscribed to the astonishing plan of the puppet sultan, Ben Arafa, handing the seals of his office to an obscure cousin instead of to a Crown Council, as agreed upon at the Aix-les-Bains Conference at the end of August. Great embarrassment in Paris, contradictory statements by cabinet ministers and press officers, an attempt by *Figaro* to persuade its readers that what happened was perfectly normal, and that the regency council will be "the next step." At the same time a message from President Coty to Arafa assuring him that neither the exiled Sultan Ben Yussef nor any of his sons can possibly succeed Arafa on the Moroccan throne, whatever happens.

What it all amounts to is what could already be foreseen in Morocco a long time ago: a kind of "French separatism"—the rule of Morocco by the French settlers there, independently of Paris—has been in swing. General de Latour has ob-

INDEXED - 63 *Dr. Kelly*

School Integration Foes Increasing, Writers Hear

Opposition to the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation is great and in some areas it is growing, the National Conference of Editorial Writers was told today.

The organization, meeting at the Hotel Statler, was addressed by Don Shoemaker, executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service. That organization, with headquarters at Nashville, is covering the reaction to the school integration order in the South for American newspapers. Mr. Shoemaker said it is doing the job "with blank-faced objectivity."

He said his organization has counted about 15 active pro-segregation groups in the Southern and border States.

He said the school picture in the South has "three major dimensions: the relative slowness of actual integration; the rising tide of opposition, and the new

era of lengthy litigation." As of last month, he continued, about 134,000 Negro children were attending schools which once were a part of all-white school systems. About half of these, he said, are in the District of Columbia.

D. C. Ratio Highest

He added that the District now has the highest Negro school population ratio of any large city in the Nation—63 per cent.

Mr. Shoemaker listed the States in opposition to the Supreme Court as Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and perhaps Alabama. He said that policy and private opinion in these States are in favor of determined resistance.

"All five of them have armed themselves with weapons which they believe will fend off the Nine Old Men," he said.

He said perhaps the largest

pro-segregation movements is the Citizens' Councils, "which claim 60,000 members in Mississippi and are busy in Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina."

He added: "In Georgia the States Rights Council has assumed State-wide importance. The strongest sector of opposition is centered in the Federation for Constitutional Government. White America, Inc., is active in Arkansas. Virginia has its Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties."

"North Carolina has seen the organization of Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

"A characteristic of many of these groups, though not of all of them, is that their leadership often is top-drawer and that they repeatedly renounce violence. Some frankly say they are exerting economic and other pressure on Negroes not to petition for compliance with the Supreme Court decision; others deny it. There are many verified instances of firing of individual Negroes."

Mr. Shoemaker said the ques-

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Op. Hue Citizens Council

tion of integration is now beginning to enter the arena of basic litigation. He said this is a factor in slowing down integration attempts. He predicted that various plans, programs and devices for delaying or resisting compliance with the court decision will occupy the headlines as well as the courts for a long time.

He listed the border States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Missouri and West Virginia as those which have made desegregation a "matter of State policy in greater or lesser degree."

In Between States

He classified five States as being in between what have been called the "do it now" States and those in determined opposition. These are Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas. For the most part, he explained, these States hung back between the two Supreme Court decisions, waiting to see the effect of the second, or implementation ruling.

In another session, Prof. Paul A. Freund of the Harvard Law School suggested to the editorial writers that newspapers might well employ specialists on legal reporting who have been trained as lawyers. He said they might do this just as they have specialists for finance, drama, science and other subjects.

In commenting on Supreme

Court decisions he recommended that the editorial writers not rely on the summaries in news reports.

"Try to digest the case even though it means waiting until the full text of the opinion comes before you," he advised.

He said also that it would be good to avoid statistical analysis of judges' positions, in terms of conservatism and liberalism.

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- Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
- Wash. News _____
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Citizens' Council Denies Organizing An Economic Boycott Against Negroes

CHARLESTON, S.C. (AP)—A key accomplishment of the councils in figure in the Citizens' Council movement in Mississippi denied here last night that its purpose is to organize an economic boycott against Negroes.

Rather, said W. J. Simmons, the councils exist "for the purpose of arousing, concerting and expressing public opinion . . . the heart and soul (of the movement) is nothing more or less than the town meeting."

Simmons, administrator of the Assn. of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, spoke at a rally for the Citizens' Council movement, along with Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and S. E. Rogers, Summerton, S.C., lawyer and defender of school segregation in the courts.

A crowd of about 1,500 interrupted the speakers with frequent applause.

Griffin declared Georgia "will have separate public schools or no public schools."

Those introducing the speakers were U.S. Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-SC), Lt. Gov. Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina, and Micah Jenkins, temporary chairman of the Charleston Citizens' Council.

Simmons said the Citizens' Council movement began at a meeting of 14 men in Indianola, Miss., not long after the May, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing public school racial segregation.

He declared "the first major ac-

complishment" of the councils in Mississippi was passage of a state constitutional amendment to raise voter qualifications. He declared the amendment's purpose "is to insure that those citizens who do qualify, white or black, are fully aware of their responsibilities as American citizens . . ."

Simmons' suggested steps to approaching the segregation problem are:

1. Creation and maintenance of a powerful organization of "responsible white people" in the South to "protect their rightful interests."

2. Counterattack to the forces which he identified as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People—"laying siege to our separate communities."

3. Conformity to the plan of States' Rights which Simmons declared was laid down by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

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White Citizens Council

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.
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Page 8 Col. 7 & 8

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FBI - NEW ORLEANS	
<i>Bureau</i>	

N. A. A. C. P. Asks Aid in Mississippi Calls on U. S. To Protect Negroes

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 (AP)—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called on the Department of Justice today to act immediately to halt what it labeled a "state of jungle fury" in Mississippi.

In a formal petition, the association said the Mississippi White Citizens Council has created an atmosphere of violence that has led to the murder of three Negroes, hundreds of threats, a drastic reduction in Negro voting and countless instances of intimidation.

"This clearly calls for prompt and effective action by the Federal government," the petition said. "Every moment of delay compounds the national shame."

The statement was handed to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney 3d, head of the department's criminal division, by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative, and other officials of the organization were present.

Specifically, the petition charged that the White Citizens Council began generating an open reign of terror in Mississippi more than eight months ago.

It said this has led to the "wanton" killing of Emmett Louis Till, fourteen-year-old, Chicago Negro, on Aug. 29; the "murder" of the Rev. George W. Lee, of Belzoni, Miss., on May 7, and the shooting of Lamar Smith in Lincoln County, Miss., on Aug. 13.

"The Federal government cannot escape responsibility by shifting the obligation to the State of Mississippi, which has indicated neither a willingness nor desire to apprehend and punish the criminal killers or their respectable fronts," the statement said.

The N. A. A. C. P. also charged that Mississippi permitted an open campaign of race hatred to be fanned "white-hot" during the state governorship elections this summer.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. announced Sept. 1 that the government is investigating the Mississippi elections to see if Negroes were deprived of any constitutional rights. He promised "immediate and vigorous" action if such violations were found.

The department has said it has no jurisdiction to investigate the death of young Till who allegedly was slain after he whistled at a white woman. It has announced it is making an inquiry to see if it has jurisdiction in the Lee and Smith cases.

A Mississippi Grand Jury yesterday indicted two white half-brothers on charges of murdering Till. But the N. A. A. C. P. charged today: "Already it is evident that an attempt will be made to exculpate them of the brutal murder of the lad."

Mr. Mitchell told newsmen he thought the Federal government could find some legal way to act in the Till case.

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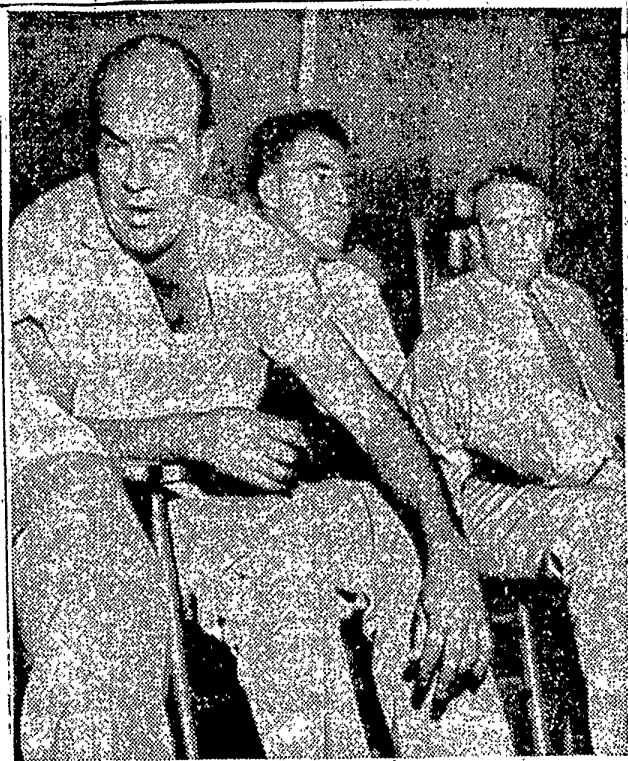
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Associated Press wirephoto

HELD IN BOY'S DEATH—J. W. Milam (left) and Roy Bryant, half brothers, in courtroom in Sumner, Miss., after their arraignment on charges of kidnaping and slaying a fourteen-year-old Chicago Negro boy. They both have pleaded not guilty.

G.I. R.

On the Way

by ABNER W. BERRY

It Was Different In Reconstruction

THE TWO DECISIONS of the U.S. Supreme Court taking the legal prop from under the so-called "bi-racial society" of the former slave states are the legal reflection of a movement which has been building for more than 80 years.

This movement was smothered during the 1880's, following the period, called "The Restoration" by southern historians. It was during this period that Negroes lost their constitutional rights as described by Albert Burton Moore, the Alabama historian:

"Negroes . . . were . . . convinced by suggestions, threats, and in some cases by deeds, that it was not wise for them to attend the polls, or boards of registration found reasons for not registering them."

The "deeds" were murders and the "threats" were threats of murder.

JUST a short distance south of Memphis, on the Mississippi Delta, the present white supremacy leaders have sought to re-live the old pre-Restoration period. They have been threatening Negroes who want to vote and who insist upon the equal right to attend all schools. Rev. George W. Lee was killed in Belzoni, Miss., because he refused to tear up his poll tax receipt. But the moment persists.

The White Citizens Councils, the inspirer of Rev. Lee's murder,

der, is still active. Negroes are on its "list" of those who are to be boycotted economically. But in Vicksburg Negro parents have petitioned the school board demanding that integration plans be presented in compliance with the Supreme Court desegregation ruling. This is happening throughout the Deep South. And the Negroes are being backed by many influential white southerners.

HODDING CARTER, editor of the Delta Democrat (Greenville, Miss.), William Faulkner, the novelist and at least one white minister have spoken out for integrated schools. The minister, Rev. Roy C. DeLamotte, of the Methodist Church, a former student of Millsaps College, opposed the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church resolution opposing integrated schools.

"It is foolish to send missionaries to Africa and the East and then cut the ground from under feet with this jimcrowism," Rev. DeLamotte told the conference. And he said that diplomas issued by Methodist colleges in Mississippi "are stained with the tears of Mississippi Negroes whose children can't attend."

Rev. DeLamotte was supported by Dr. Henry Bullock, a former Millsaps professor and now editor in chief of all the church Sunday School publications, Mississippi was among the few

states whose leading church group maintained a stout white supremacy position. So die-hard was the position that Rev. DeLamotte was left without a congregation, the church leaders holding that the membership of white churches would not have a pro-intergration pastor.

THIS BREAK AWAY by sizable numbers of white churchmen from the jimcrow camp is something new in southern life. And it foretells the doom of the "bi-racial" system which reserved the bottom spot in society for the Negro, under the theory any white man is better than any Negro.

This development drew from

Robert B. Crawford, president of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, the statement that:

"The worst obstacle we face in the fight to preserve segregated schools in the South is the white preacher."

It was different during Reconstruction, Crawford said. And it is clear that the outcome of the present struggle will be different too: For when the white masses join the Negroes in demanding their share of the empire which the Bourbons have ruled for so long, democracy cannot be denied.

This is the restoration period of Democracy. The racists betray their knowledge of this in their actions.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the

- () Daily Worker
- () The Worker
- () New Leader

AUG 7 1955

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\$268,319 Contributed to Help Negro Victims in Mississippi

Recent deposits in the Tri-State Bank of Memphis for expanding its capacity to make business loans to victims of the Mississippi "economic squeeze" have brought the total to \$268,319, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, announced over the week-end.

A fraternal organization, a union local and a married couple are among the new depositors.

The American Woodmen with headquarters in Denver, made a deposit of \$10,000 in the bank, as did Dodge local No. 3 of the CIO United Auto Workers, Hamtramck, Mich.

The third deposit amounting to \$1,700 was that of Dr. and Mrs. Lee Lorch of Nashville, Tenn. Dr. Lorch, a university professor, cashed his U. S. Savings Bonds to make the deposit "for the purpose of let-

ting our dollars work for democracy by helping relieve some of the economic pressures put on those fighting against segregation . . ."

In a covering letter transmitting the \$10,000 check, Steve Kwiatkowski, recording secretary of the UAW local, said: "One of our major objectives as a labor organization has always been the fight to make all people in our country equal, regardless of race, color or creed."

Lawrence H. Lightner, supreme commander of the American Woodmen, told Mr. Wilkins that the board of his organization had voted to make the deposit in the Tri-State Bank "in order to build up a fund to be used to assist our Negro citizens in the state of Mississippi who may be confronted with economic sanctions."

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- () Daily Worker
- () The Worker
- () New Leader

Date JUL 12 1955
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Klein

Fire Negro Teachers In Mississippi for Registering to Vote

Negro teachers in Mississippi are being fired from their jobs for insisting upon their right to vote, it was revealed yesterday in reports by Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., daily Delta Democrat.

A number of rural Negro teachers, Carter said, had already been notified by school officials that they would not be needed next

fall if their names remained on the voters lists. The move against the Negro teachers results from the White Citizens Council campaign, and indicates that the businessmen's hate group has strong governmental connections.

Since school boards are agencies of government, and the act of firing the Negro teachers is an attempt to prevent the exercise of a federally - guaranteed right, the speculation has arisen as to what the Department of Justice will do now. There is a law against governmental agencies interfering with a citizen's federally-guaranteed rights.

Carter, a Pulitzer prizewinning editor, who has been a mild opponent of segregation, said that he, too, had become a target of the White Citizen's Council. He said that pressure had been placed on advertisers and readers because he has refused to endorse the white supremacy moves against integration.

"They haven't been able to hurt our advertising at all," Carter said, although some of them reported that "an economic boycott has actually been instituted against them."

Carter said the WCC's had not been able to get started in Greenville, and he added that the registrar (in Washington County) will register any one who is qualified to vote.

The editor did not think the WCC would become a "really strong force" in his county, but conceded that they "are very effective in some rural counties and in communities with large Negro populations."

It was in Belzoni, county of Humphreys County, that the WCC last May 7 inspired the murder of Rev. George W. Lee, the militant Negro minister who refused to tear up his polltax receipt as the WCC had ordered.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the

- () Daily Worker
- () The Worker
- () New Leader

Date JUN 17 1955

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CHALLENGE OF BELZONI

BELZONI, MISSISSIPPI, continues to challenge our professions of democracy and justice. Rev. George W. Lee, the militant Negro minister who was determined to cast a vote, has been dead now for more than three weeks. Every shred of evidence dug up points to the fact that he was murdered. The undertaker who handled Rev. Lee's body and discovered the pellets under the slain man's skin, now known to be buckshot, has been placed on the boycott list of the White Citizens Councils. And more than 90 other Negroes in Humphreys County have been ordered by the White Citizens Council to remove their names from the voters' lists.

At least two Negro witnesses to the assassination last May 7 of Rev. Lee have been forced to leave Belzoni.

WHAT MORE DOES the Department of Justice need to arouse its suspicions that a conspiracy exists to deprive Mississippi's Negro citizens of their federally guaranteed rights? Attorney General Herbert Brownell has answered the request of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a thorough investigation with a number of perfunctory motions. Buckshot has been analyzed; witnesses interviewed, and other run-of-the-mill routines.

But this is no ordinary murder; Rev. Lee's assassination was the work of a conspiracy which has driven a number of Negroes out of business; has conducted terror forays in speeding automobiles into the Negro communities; has declared that the United States Constitution cannot protect Mississippi citizens—if they are Negroes.

The Department of Justice cannot duck this challenge of white supremacy lawlessness. We cannot permit it to do so if we value our own democratic rights. The demand has to persist:

- Bring the conspirators to justice under the laws protecting citizens under the Constitution.
- Announce that no voter in Mississippi will be without federal protection in exercising his right to vote.

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76 JUN 3 1955

This is a clipping from page 5 of the

- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

Date MAY 27 1955

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Mc. Johnson

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'Witness to Murder of Negro Pastor Located'

An eyewitness to the fatal shooting of the Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., on May 7, has told FBI agents in East St. Louis, Ill., what he had seen that night, according to information received here by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The witness, Alex Hudson, was located in East St. Louis by the NAACP. He had left Mississippi a week after the killing. Billy Jones, an East St. Louis lawyer and president of the Illinois State NAACP, accompanied the witness to the FBI office where the Mississippian told his story.

Hudson says that he was sitting with a friend when the Rev. Mr. Lee's car passed. He saw another car overtake the clergyman's and heard the shots fired from the second car. Rev. Lee's car swerved off the road and crashed into a house while the other disappeared in the darkness.

The NAACP, Wilkins said, is tracing other witnesses in the hope of securing the arrest and conviction of the slayers.

At a memorial service held in Belzoni May 22, the NAACP executive assured 400 Negro leaders from all over the state of continued NAACP support in the fight for the ballot, for justice and for desegregation of the public schools. "We expect to stay in Mississippi for the duration—until victory is won," he said.

Wilkins lauded the slain clergyman as a courageous man who fought for equality and first-class citizenship for himself and for his people. "He was killed, the NAACP leader charged, "because he thought he ought to vote just like other Americans. Someone threatened him and told him he should withdraw his name from the registration lists. He refused to do this because he was an American and Americans have the right to vote."

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JUN 3 1955

This is a clipping from page 1 of the

- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

MAY 31 1955

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JUN 3 1955

SINCE WORLD WAR II we Americans have become familiar with odd-sounding place names. Hiroshima, Okinawa, Seoul, Namhung, Pyongyang and Pusan have assumed an easy familiarity with us, along with Cherbourg, Bonn, Frankfurt, Bruxelles, Bizerte, Anzio, Bastogne and St. Vith—to mention only a few. And always in connection with these additions to our knowledge of geography goes the chauvinistic claim that Uncle Sam has been called upon to lead the world. Washington is viewed as the "World Capital of the Free World," and our agents are sent around the globe as stewards of freedom against the "Communist menace."

Now for two weeks a new place name has flickered across the pages of our daily newspapers: a tiny hamlet in Mississippi answering to the name of Belzoni where some 4,071 souls—more than 2,500 of them Negroes—make their homes.

It is such a little-known place that the telephone operator in Memphis, Tennessee, in routing a long distance call to Belzoni, has to look it up in the directory. Yet Belzoni has arisen to challenge the conscience of America. It is closer to Washington than Prague or Sophia or Saigon. An upright citizen of Belzoni should be presumed to be more important to the men who run the Capital of the "Free World" than say a Cardinal Mindzenty and just as important as, say, a United Press correspondent in Singapore. But how safe is such a presumption?

REV. GEORGE W. LEE, a Negro minister, is dead, killed on a Belzoni street on May 7, 1955, a few days after he had refused orders to tear up his poll tax and remove his name from the Humphreys County voters list. Before his death his friend Gus Courts, a Negro grocer, had been forced out of business because white wholesalers, organized in the White Citizens Councils, had refused to deliver orders to his store. And after his death the undertaker who handled Rev. Lee's body—T. V. Johnson—the only Negro undertaker in Belzoni—has been put on the White Citi-

On the Way

by Abner W. Berry



What Do You Know About Belzoni?

zens Councils' boycott list. Johnson, like Rev. Lee, believes that Negroes are American citizens and should vote in elections, and besides he is an NAACP member.

The simple forms of democracy are completely absent in Humphrey County and in Belzoni, the county seat. For although the county's 23,115 population has a majority of Negroes, Rev. Lee was the first Negro ever to register to vote there. Consider that in 1918 when Humphreys County was carved out of the rambling Delta county of Yazoo, there were 18,000 Negroes in a population of 24,000. Despite the existence of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, the Negroes of Humphreys County were as devoid of rights as any black South African about whose plight so many good Americans cluck their tongues and shake their heads in frustration.

It took a violent death of a Negro minister to dramatize this ugly relic of human slavery for us. Up to now we could say we didn't know. We could slough it off as a southern problem which would work itself out. We could even forget about it by citing all the "progress" we've made in race relations.

In 37 years and an undetermined number of unreported deaths one Negro out of 18,000 finally got his name on the voting lists of an American county in the American state of Mississippi. And he was killed for his devotion to democracy, for his fight for a truly free world.

I have not heard any eulogies for Rev. Lee in Congress, although Rep. Adam C. Powell was permitted to speak out of order in eulogizing a United Press correspondent who was

killed in Singapore. There is a silence in most of the press, for they see in this not a challenge to "free world" concepts, but an embarrassment.

THE FEDERAL government which has at its disposal hundreds of millions of dollars to conduct espionage and so-called "underground railroads" in Europe has done only the most perfunctory laboratory analysis of pellets found in Rev. Lee's body. No government official has denounced in angry tones this blackout of freedom exposed by the murder of Rev. Lee. And U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, in the face of the continuing force and violence, and the threats of violence is apparently riding out the storm of protest being stirred by the NAACP and the leaders in Mississippi. A conspiracy to deprive Negro citizens of their constitutional rights — even their lives—goes its own brutal, un-American way.

The government leaders, it seems, are too absorbed in the problems of "freedom," as they see them everywhere else in the world—except in Belzoni, Mississippi. But if we follow them in this absorption we will be losing our own freedom by default. For there are hundreds of Belzoni's. And these Belzoni's are powers in the federal government.

Perhaps, if we shout loudly enough about Belzoni, the new place name in the fight for freedom, we can attract the attention of the men in Washington; we may be able to end their preoccupation with more distant places with more exotic names and turn them to Belzoni. Our stake in freedom lies in that direction.

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126 JUN 6 1955

Date MAY 26 1955

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105-34237
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Report Key Witness in Slaying Of Negro Pastor Ordered Out

An important witness in the case of the murder of Rev. George W. Lee, 51-year-old Bezon, Miss., Negro minister, has been ordered out of town, it was reported yesterday in the Pittsburgh Courier. The witness, substitute school teacher Miss Ozelia White, it seems, knew too much about the circumstances surrounding the happening on last May 7 when Rev. Lee was ambushed by three men who shot into his face and neck three times. Rev. Lee at the time was driving his car which crashed into a home after the shots. A few days before his death Rev. Lee had refused orders from the White Citizens Councils of Humphrey County to remove his name from the voters list. He was one of 92 Negroes who had stood up for their rights as voters. Sheriff I. J. Sheldon denied any knowledge of the intimidation of Miss White.

"What witness?" he asked when question. "We know of no witness disappearing."

With pressure for the arrest of Rev. Lee's murderer mounting in Mississippi and slowly building up throughout the country, Sheriff Sheldon has begun to relent somewhat in his indifferent attitude. He told a questioner:

"We're pressing a search for Lee's murderer and knitting evidence together all the time."

This was the clearest admission from the sheriff that the militant minister had been murdered. It is still not clear whether or not he will seek to pin Rev. Lee's death on a Negro as Sheldon has intimated from time to time when he has been pressed for action. In fact, most of the arrests he had made so far have been of Negro suspects.

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 NEWSPAPER
 76 JUN. 3 1955

Mc Johnson
Edmond

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- () Daily Worker
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BELZONI, MISSISSIPPI

THE WHITE SUPREMACY officials of the Magnolia State of Mississippi, so hated the Supreme Court, and looked with such contempt upon the law of the land that they refused to discuss the issue with the high court last April when invited to do so.

Now the extra-legal White Citizens Councils have spoken with the lyncher's guns. A Negro minister, the Rev. George W. Lee, of Belzoni, is their dead and mutilated victim. Other Negro citizens of Belzoni, Mississippi, have had their automobile windshields smashed; Negro businessmen have been forced out of business by economic boycott. And as yet the white supremacy conspiracy is unchallenged by federal authorities.

INDEED, statements by President Eisenhower and the legal brief and arguments by U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff in the school case have tended to side with the Dixiecrat point of view. The President, in answer to a recent letter from Rep. Herbert Zelenko (D-NY), opposed enforcement legislation supporting the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

Meanwhile the offer of the chairman of the Democratic Party's national committee to forgive-and-forget the Dixiecrat crimes against the party still further removed political restraint from the Deep South racist leaders. The mangled body of Rev. Lee is a mute and tragic challenge to this bi-partisan wooing of the Dixiecrats.

Rev. Lee was killed—as everyone, except Brownell and the FBI seems to know—because he so sought to exercise the federally-guaranteed right to vote. He refused to tear up his poll tax receipt, as the kluxers had ordered. There is evidence to support this. There is too much evidence pointing to the violation of constitutional rights in the murder of Rev. Lee for the Department of Justice to leave the investigation of the affair to local authorities.

This is not just a question of prosecuting those guilty in the death of Rev. Lee, it is a question of protecting Belzoni's Negro citizens against the continuous flaunting of their rights.

This case merits the attention of the President, himself, for Rev. Lee's death results from a political movement aimed at nullifying the Constitution whenever it touches upon the rights of Negro Americans. And no American can afford to cease reminding him of this.

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6-McBrown

This is a clipping from page 5 of the

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Date 5-23-55
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FBI

Ken Kaufman

Charge Negro Minister Slain For Voting

BELZONI, Miss., May 18.—Authorities began today a belated investigation into a gang-style assassination of a Negro minister, after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged the killing to white supremacist "Citizen Councils."

Rev. George W. Lee, 51, was fatally wounded by the blasts from a gun May 8, as he drove his car in a Belzoni street. The car then crashed into a house.

City officials and authorities of Humphries County, of which Belzoni is the county seat, had taken for granted that Rev. Lee's death was due to the crash. But metal objects imbedded in the slain man's body and powder burns on his skin refute this claim.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, regional secretary of the NAACP, said in Birmingham, Ala.

"The Rev. Lee was killed. He was active in the NAACP and was one of the few Negroes who registered to vote. He was told by

the White Citizens Council to remove his name from the voting list."

According to Mrs. Hurley, the NAACP legal department is independently investigating Rev. Lee's death.

In Washington, the Justice Department said the FBI was investigating to determine whether any federal civil rights laws have been violated.

The Mississippi NAACP charged the White Citizens Councils with placing Rev. Lee's name on its "black list" because he was active in a drive to register Negroes in Humphries County. The councils, composed of leading white businessmen, were known to have passed among themselves such a list of Negro leaders who were to become targets for economic boycott. When the economic boycott, which forced a Negro grocer from a rented building and stopped loans to others, failed to stop the drive for the vote, direct action against Negroes began.

Belzoni Negro residents tell of cars of whites speeding through the heavily populated Negro section of this Delta region town while occupants of the cars toss rocks through windows and smash windshields of parked cars.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, president of the Mississippi State NAACP conference, said of Rev. Lee's defiance of the White Citizens Councils:

"The Rev. Mr. Lee was one of the first Negroes to qualify for voting in Humphries County. He was a leader helping his people to live the Christian life. He was a man who believed in and advocated living by the principles of democratic government.

"In face of previous threats and intimidations, he refused to follow orders (of the Citizens Councils) to tear up his poll tax receipt and have his name removed from the registration book . . . because he believed in our republican form of government."

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Mr. G. [unclear]

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- The Worker
- New Leader

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JUN 3 1955

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Sizoo _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Beard

McIntosh

AME Seeks U.S. Probe of Several Groups

Attorney General Brownell has been asked by the Washington Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to "investigate the Citizens' Councils, Southern Gentlemen, "and other similar groups whose announced purpose is to thwart the march of Negro Americans to full freedom."

The conference telegraphed Mr. Brownell yesterday after unanimously approving a motion to have the groups investigated to see if they are in violation of the subversion or civil rights laws.

"It is our feeling that these activities constitute subversion and un-Americanism on a par with the Klu Klux Klan and the Communist Party and are a threat to the civil liberties of all Americans," the telegram said.

The telegram was signed by Bishop D. Ward Nichols, presiding at the conference, which will end tomorrow in the Turner AME Church, Sixth and I streets N.W.

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- Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
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- Wash. Star
- N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
- N. Y. Mirror _____
- Date: APR 15 1955

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Too Soon To Criticize

South's Citizens Councils say they are peaceful units. In fact the various councils have recently issued an invitation to FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover to join them in maintaining segregation in Southern states.

The invitation was in reply to a magazine article by Greenville, Miss., editor Hodding Carter calling the council a modern day version of the Ku Klux Klan.

Said the executive committee of the council: "If any FBI members desire to attend our meetings, we will welcome their attendance. If they desire to join our organization, we will be glad to have them as members, and this invitation includes the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover."

In issuing the invitation, the council said its intent is to maintain segregation by lawful means.

Carter, editor-publisher of the Delta Democrat, charged the council has all the ingredients necessary to produce future violence once peaceful methods fail them.

Now that is a general statement if there ever was one, for any man, woman or child who has a pair of fists, or a man-made weapon of any kind, and who becomes angry, has all the necessary ingredients to produce violence.

And, the persons may not even know of segregation.

We are not upholding the Citizens Councils, and if these groups should turn to violence, we shall blast them.

But: It is entirely possible that the council, as such, has the full intent of using peaceful methods.

And: They cannot be criticized for using peaceful words.

Let's just say that it is too early to pass judgment.

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JAMES SKEWES, EDITOR
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PEERS FILES

Hoover Asked To Be Member Of 'Citizens'

WINONA, Miss., (UP)—The governing body of white Citizens Councils, an organization prepared to apply "economic pressures" to prevent desegregation, today offered invitations to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to join the organization.

The executive committee of councils issued a statement denying Mississippi Editor Hodding Carter's statement that the newly formed councils were being watched by the FBI for possible violations of civil rights.

Carter, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat Times, accused the groups of being modern day Ku Klux Klans.

"If any FBI members desire to attend our meetings," the executive committee said, "we will welcome them. If they desire to join our organization we will be glad to have them as members and this includes the honorable J. Edgar Hoover."

Mayor S. B. Bridges of Winona, a council member, said his organization is a "legal and constitutional group of high minded men who feel the need for leadership and action in the social and economic problems of our state."

Councils are dedicated to "bettering the condition of our state, both for the black and white races. Negroes, he added, are "happy and satisfied with segregation."

As a member of Citizens Councils

FBI

CITIZENS COUNCILS
STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
3/18/55
Page 10B Col. 3

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 Miss Gandy _____

W. J. Brennan

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BAUMGARDNER
W. J. Brennan

(RELEASE AT 6:00 PM EST.)

NEW YORK--A PROMINENT NEWSPAPER EDITOR WARNED THAT CITIZENS COUNCILS SPREADING UNCHECKED ACROSS THE DEEP SOUTH "CAN BECOME INSTRUMENTS OF INTERRACIAL VIOLENCE" SUCH AS THE KU KLUX KLAN.

HODDING CARTER, EDITOR OF THE DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES OF GREENVILLE, MISS., DESCRIBED THE CITIZENS COUNCILS FIGHT AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT'S BAN ON PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN A LOOK MAGAZINE ARTICLE.

ALTHOUGH THE MOVEMENT'S MAIN TARGET IS THE NEGRO, CARTER SAID, IT HAS ALIGNED ITSELF IN SOME INSTANCES WITH ORGANIZED AND SPONTANEOUS ATTACKS AGAINST THE JEW AND THE CATHOLIC IN THE SOUTH.

CARTER CITED THREE FACTS BEHIND THE ORGANIZATION AND SPREAD OF THE COUNCILS WHICH BEGAN LAST JULY: LITTLE DISAGREEMENT EXISTS AMONG WHITE SOUTHERNERS IN THE DEEP SOUTH AS TO THE DESIRABILITY FOR CONTINUED SEPARATE SCHOOLS; THE MEN WHO THUS FAR HAVE LED THE COUNCILS' MOVEMENT HAVE STANDING IN THEIR COMMUNITIES; IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE COUNCILS' EXISTENCE, THEY HAVE WON EACH FIGHT THEY'VE ENTERED WITHOUT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE.

"BUT I CAN IMAGINE HOODLUMS TAKING OVER IF TODAY'S LEADERS GIVE WAY TO BOREDOM OR ANGER OR DESPAIR," HE SAID. "THESE CITIZENS COUNCILS, WHICH SO FAR HAVE SPREAD UNCHECKED ACROSS MISSISSIPPI AND ELSEWHERE IN THE SOUTH, CAN BECOME INSTRUMENTS OF INTERRACIAL VIOLENCE."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Racists Try To Tighten Financial Noose Around Mississippi Negroes

By AUGUSTIA STRONG

MANY MISSISSIPPIANS are now getting their first-hand knowledge of the economics of segregation. Both those for and against segregated schools, and both colored and white, are feeling or soon will feel the burden of trying to maintain the old system outlawed by the Supreme Court decision of May 17.

On Negroes the burden fell suddenly, in the form of a refusal of credit from banks, mortgage companies, and loan agencies. The NAACP reported that homeowners, businessmen, and farmers were turned down on loan and credit applications, if they were known either to favor integrated schools, or to have attempted to register and vote, or had a reputation as militants.

Small businessmen are being asked for cash on delivery of goods, it was learned. Banks are refusing to refinance farm mortgages or to advance money needed to start a new crop. Negro professional men are on a C.O.D. basis for supplies, and some are having insurance cancelled. Big white plantation owners are forbidding their Negro tenants to go to Negro doctors.

IN A COUNTER-MOVEMENT, Mississippians appealed for assistance to the NAACP which evolved a plan of assistance to

those affected by securing loans through the Negro - owned Tri-State Bank of Memphis, Tenn. A national appeal to swell the resources of the bank by transferring deposits there has resulted in securing about \$150,000 in new funds.

Latest depositors include two labor unions - the United Auto Workers, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, each of whom deposited \$10,000 for the loan fund. Other institutions who have contributed similar sums include Negro insurance and fraternal organizations, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the NAACP. A few individuals have made smaller contributions.

An investigation of one phase of the "squeeze" is said to be in the hands of the Agriculture Department. Affidavits from Mississippi accusing two officials of the Farmers Home Administration of denying government loans to Negro applicants were referred by the White House to Secretary Ezra Benson.

THE PROBLEM facing white voters arises from the passage of the state constitutional amendment in December authorizing the legislature to abolish public schools. The proposal, officially sponsored by the Governor, was designed to go into effect only if Negroes refuse to accept "voluntary segregation."

In an effort to make segregated schools more palatable to Negroes, education officials have recommended a program of "equalizing Negro schools. The problem, however, is to raise the money required for this stupendous undertaking, a sum estimated by the state at \$88,000,000 for a two year program.

Thus far, no one has come up with the answer of where the additional tax money will come from - for the present school budget is far below this sum. Even anti-integration forces in the state admit that Negro schools have been severely curtailed in funds, and would not be in condition to play a part in an integrated school system.

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- () The Worker
- () New Leader

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Mississippi Affidavits Say U. S. Officials Aid Racists

Affidavits from Mississippi leaders of the NAACP accusing representatives of federal financing agencies of discriminatory practices in collaboration with the economic pressure movement of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi have been submitted to the White House with an urgent request for "prompt action."

Walter E. Strider and S. O'Neal, agents of the Farmers Home Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Lexington, Miss., are named as persons denying Negro applicants assistance to which they are entitled.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, submitted the affidavits.

"Because of my activities in bringing in about 25 members in the NAACP branch," a farmer asserts in his affidavit, "economic pressure is being exerted on me." Owner of 73 acres of "rich Mississippi Delta soil" with a seven-room house, a barn and a tractor, this Negro farmer says that al-

though his tract produces as much as a bale-and-a-half of cotton per acre he is unable to get loans for operations.

Because of drought and the demand for immediate payment of a \$3,500 mortgage, he is in danger of losing his place, "Anyone belonging to the NAACP," he affirms, is not deemed "worthy of financial assistance and is termed a trouble-maker in the community."

Another victim affirms that he has been unable to secure such a loan "because a Mr. S. O'Neal of Lexington, Miss. (farm home manager) thought that I should not have it."

A woman farm owner in the same drought-stricken area also complains that O'Neal and Strider denied her a disaster loan to operate her farm during 1955. "It is generally believed," she adds, "that Mr. Strider refuses some loans to

NAACP members because of local activities."

Last year, a local NAACP leader swears, he secured without difficulty an operational loan from the FHA. "But this year, I have been unsuccessful in getting any consideration for a loan to operate my farm," he asserts, naming O'Neal as the one who rejected his application.

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- () Daily Worker
- () The Worker
- () New Leader

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RA file 105-34237

Citizens Councils of Mississippi

On the Way

by Abner W. Berry



A Strategy for The Racist Boycott

THE 1955 "WHITE collar" edition of the Ku Klux Klan now operating in Mississippi and spilling over into other southern states, is not composed of crackpots. They are hard-headed businessmen whose investments have been protected by jimcrow. They are showing their contempt of the U. S. Supreme Court and the U. S. government because the May 17 ruling against segregated schools hits indirectly at their investments. For, despite everything that Mr. Gallup, the postster, and others may say about how much the nation loses because of jimcrow, that ugly bird has brought good fortunes to most southern industries.

By keeping the Negro out of the general labor market the plantation owners, initiators of the old Klan, maintained a host of almost free laborers. And in this reserve pool the city industrialist of the South, had a weapon for pressing sweat shop conditions upon the white workers. Jimcrow kept the unions weak when they existed at all.

Note well that the Mississippi "Citizens Councils," as the anti-Supreme Court Klansman call their movement, have not moved to fire Negro workers. Nor have they threatened to expel their farm workers. The targets of the current economic attacks have been Negro business and professional men. One reason is that they are the most articulate; they are not too numerous; and in most cases they sell commodities or services to Negroes which could well be sold and performed by whites.

The neo-Kluxers are as mad as foxes, then, when they hit at a competitor and the "menace" of de-segregation with one blow. The leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has moved to assist the embattled Negroes faced with the loss of homes, businesses and professional practice. This plight, if the reader has not already learned, resulted from banks withdrawing credit, foreclosing mortgages and from some white businessmen conducting a boycott of Negroes who refuse to support segregation.

It was announced about a week ago that \$20,000 was deposited by the NAACP with the Negro-owned Tri-State Bank of Memphis, as part of a plan to expand the bank's assets by \$250,000. As an emergency measure, this is good, but this is only a stop-gap. Moreover, if there should be a spread of this conspiracy to ruin Negro citizens economically, the fight for freedom could conceivably become a banking movement.

HAS IT OCCURRED to anyone to question why it was so easy for the big time white supremacy advocates to pick off NAACP leadership with an economic boycott in a state like Mississippi? It would seem to me to indicate a need to integrate the leadership of the group in that state with a large section of the million or more Negro inhabitants who could not be hit by such a boycott. With enough Negro workers and farm-

ers recruited as NAACP members, the ability to apply economic pressure would be on the other foot. I will never forget how Beaumont, Texas, learned not to tolerate race riots during the war. Negro workers, on the day following the 1943 riot there, were afraid to go to work and the town barely limped that day.

I'm not calling for a Negro general strike, but I do know that the boss who hires a few hundred workers is dependent upon them, and that he is not going to try any such foolish action as withdrawing all their jobs. Where would his profits come from then?

There is also the matter of the Mississippi trade unions whose national bodies have declared in support of de-segregation. Some of these unions have Negro and white members and exert no little economic influence themselves.

This boycott movement and other subversive attempts to detour around the Supreme Court ruling are likely to be with us for some time to come. And there is going to be needed a strategy which goes beyond the doctor, the lawyer, the pharmacist, the teacher and the small business-

man. These represent such a small segment of the Negro community. Their leadership cannot endure to the full success of the freedom movement if it is not re-inforced by the masses of Negroes in the factories and the fields. And when we get right down to it, what's wrong with integrating some of the latter class into NAACP leadership?

I have not been at my desk enough during the fund drive to acknowledge the many contributions which readers sent in. L. L., from Brooklyn, sent in \$5; A group of "North Carolinians" sent another most welcome \$5; "Old Timer" scored twice \$10 bills; two "Detroit Friends" gave \$5. And there are others to be acknowledged next Tuesday. Thanks and keep the funds coming to fill out the remaining 10 percent that is missing at this writing.

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